

Huldrych Zwingli's Private Library

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

Edited by

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Huldrych Zwingli's Private Library

By

Urs B. Leu
Sandra Weidmann



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Cover illustration: Zwingli in his study with bookshelves in the background, manuscript copy of Heinrich Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte* by Heinrich Thomann, Zürich 1605/06 (ZBZ, call number: Ms B 316, f. 231^v).

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Preface

The present work is published on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in Zürich, to be celebrated on 1st January commemorating the day in 1519 on which Huldrych Zwingli began to preach at the Grossmünster in Zürich. It is important to remember that Zwingli's theological breakthrough which aligned him with the Reformation, only occurred after several years of personal maturing, very probably not in 1519 but in 1520 when he recognised his own sinfulness and broke all ties with the papal Roman church.¹

In addition to diaries and correspondence, a scholar's private library provides valuable clues about his interests and his spiritual universe as well as revealing the texts which influenced him. Hence, investigating someone's private library is just as crucial in tracing his spiritual life and intellectual conflicts, as is the scrutiny of other personal documents. So it is not surprising that the book collections of other great Reformers such as Bucer,² Bullinger,³ Calvin,⁴ Luther,⁵ Melancthon,⁶ Müntzer⁷ or Vadian⁸ have long been of great interest to historians of the early modern period.

Zwingli's private library has in fact been a field of research since 1885.⁹ The first monograph on this topic was written nearly a hundred years ago by Walter Köhler (1870–1946) and remained the definitive work for many years.¹⁰ Since then, other researchers have pursued the subject, resulting in a doubling of known titles owned or used by Zwingli: from about 100 in 1921 to 205 today.

While Usteri¹¹ knew of only a few books in Zwingli's possession, Walter Köhler attempted a complete listing. He read as much of Zwingli's correspondence and writings as was available through Melchior Schuler's and Johannes Schulthess's publication (Zürich, 1828–1861), and also scrutinised the new critical edition of Zwingli's works which was published from 1905 onwards. Köhler

1 Farner, vol. 1 (1946), p. 411, and vol. 4 (1960), pp. 24–27; his conversion took place at latest until spring 1521, cf. Neuser (1977).

2 Stupperich (1975).

3 Leu and Weidmann (2004).

4 Ganoczy (1969); Ganoczy (1981).

5 WA 58, pp. 86–102; Brecht and Peters (2000).

6 Görber (1928); Rhein (2014).

7 Müntzer (1968), pp. 556–560; Ullmann (1976); Steinmetz (1984); Bräuer (2016), pp. 137–142.

8 Schenker-Frei (1973); Gamper (2017), pp. 340–344.

9 Usteri (1885/86).

10 Köhler (1921).

11 See footnote 9.

tracked down every title which might have belonged to Zwingli and searched for it in the holdings of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich (ZBZ). He located 94 still extant titles which had indisputably belonged to Zwingli with a further seven possible titles. Furthermore, Köhler identified 224 books and 28 manuscripts which the Swiss Reformer must have known or used, including sundry works which had been printed in Zürich. It may be safely assumed, that as a friend of the printer Christoph Froschauer the Elder, as well as in his capacity as a member of the censorship commission until 1524,¹² Zwingli was well aware of what was being published in Zürich. Köhler goes on to list 87 further works which are mentioned in Zwingli's correspondence or in his writings, but of which we do not know whether he consulted them or not. As soon as Köhler's work appeared, the librarian Jakob Werner (1861–1944)¹³ published another list of works from Zwingli's library, containing more than a dozen additional titles.¹⁴

Werner's research had been based on the catalogue of the abbey library of the Grossmünster, which had been presided over by the Hebraist Conrad Pellikan (1478–1556) between 1532 and 1551. Werner had hoped to glean additional information about Zwingli's book collection from this source, as his private library had been acquired by the Grossmünster after his death. This path of inquiry was continued by Martin Germann, deputy head of the Department of Manuscripts of the ZBZ, who edited Pellikan's library catalogue and also discovered new Zwingli books as well.¹⁵ The church historian, Alfred Schindler (1934–2012), was similarly interested in Zwingli's library: under the former director of the ZBZ, Hermann Köstler, the librarian Christian Aliverti was assigned the task of cataloguing the 227 presumed titles from Zwingli's library.¹⁶ Schindler himself, aided by his assistant Daniel Bolliger, continued to work on the edition of Zwingli's marginal glosses,¹⁷ which Köhler had begun and which had ground to a halt in 1941 after volume twelve of *Huldrych Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* (Z XI1) had appeared. Schindler managed to secure Irena Backus, professor at the University of Geneva, for collaboration on this work.¹⁸ However, as a result of the long illness and death of Schindler, these works on Zwingli's library remained a torso.

12 Bächtold (1982), p. 88.

13 Ferrari and Stotz (1994).

14 Werner (1921).

15 Germann (1994).

16 Aliverti's catalogue had only provisional validity and was never published.

17 Schindler (1988/89); Schindler (1993); Bolliger (2003).

18 Backus (1991).

In the meantime Judith Steinmann from the Department of Manuscripts of the ZBZ had published various articles identifying book bindings from Zürich, resolving the uncertainty of whether a particular book had been published during Zwingli's lifetime or not. In the case of omnibus volumes, this information could be an important indicator that the whole volume had been in Zwingli's library, rather than just individual titles which evinced his handwritten notes.¹⁹ The Benedictine monks, Gebhard Müller (1926–2010)²⁰ and Odo Lang,²¹ completed the catalogue of incunabla, early prints and manuscripts held in the monastery library in Einsiedeln. Their research made it possible to speculate whether Zwingli himself had owned a particular text or had just consulted it in Einsiedeln. Similarly, the above-mentioned work by Germann performs the same task for the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. And since Köhler's death, volumes 6, 9–11 and 13–21 of the new critical edition of Zwingli's works have appeared, containing additional further information about his library.

The above scholars have all made invaluable contributions to the subject, despite occasional wrong identifications, which can be partly explained by the challenging and changing style of Zwingli's handwriting.²² This current catalogue includes only those titles, known to have been irrefutably owned or used by Zwingli and contains recently discovered works. We justify each inclusion in order to foster a clearer understanding of our reflections and conclusions and we have refrained from compiling an inventory of books which Zwingli might have heard of during his lifetime, as attempted by Köhler.²³ An inspection of the *Bibliotheca universalis* by Conrad Gessner reveals literally thousands of eligible titles.

All the books and manuscripts listed here are currently in the holdings of either the Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, the Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, the Staatsarchiv Zürich or the ZBZ. For the cataloguing

19 Steinmann (2000/2001).

20 Müller (2010).

21 Lang (2009); Odo Lang: Katalog der Handschriften in der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, Erster Teil: Codices 1–500 (in preparation).

22 See for example the list, based on so called new findings, in: Schindler (1988), p. 480. The copy of Zwingli's *De peccato originali* with the owner's remark "Sum Hulderychi Zuinglii Tigurini" did not belong to Zwingli, as Christoph Jörg thought, but to his son Huldrych (1528–1571). Cf. Jörg (2006). Also the copy of the *Historia mundi* written by Pliny (Basle, Officina Frobeniana, 1530) and held by McGill University Library (shelf mark: folio P728h 1530), did not belong to Zwingli as is sometimes claimed. The marginal notes were not written by his hand.

23 Köhler (1921), p. *36–*44.

rules, we followed the standards of the ISBD-A. Authors' names are spelt according to the GND (Gemeinsame Normdatei). We would like to thank Arjan van Dijk of the publishing house Brill for his interest in including this volume in their programme as well as Prof. Dr. Andrew Colin Gow for granting us a place in his prestigious series. Thanks are also due to Peter Moerkerk from the Centre for Digitalization of the ZBZ for the high quality reproductions. Last but not least, we are grateful to our always friendly and helpful Northern Irish colleague Alice Robinson for correcting our often awkward "Swiss Federal English" and to Pater Justinus Pagnamenta for his assistance during the period when we studied in the Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. We also wish to thank the anonymous reviewers whose insightful suggestions helped us to clarify issues.

Urs B. Leu and Sandra Weidmann
Zentralbibliothek Zürich, June 2018

Abbreviations, Bibliographies and Library Catalogues

- Adams: Adams, H.M.: Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in *Cambridge libraries*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1967.
- AK: Alfred Hartmann and Beat R. Jenny (eds.): *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Basle 1942–2010.
- Baudrier: Baudrier, J. *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVII^e siècle*, 13 vols., Paris, 1964–1965.
- Benzing (Luther): Benzing, Josef: *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, Baden-Baden 1966. (*Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana*. 10.16.19).
- Bezzel (Erasmus): Bezzel, Irmgard: *Erasmusdrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts in bayerischen Bibliotheken. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis*, Stuttgart 1979. (*Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher*. 1).
- BMC: Catalogue of books printed in the 15th century now in the British Museum, 10 vols., London 1908–1971.
- BN: Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. Auteurs, 231 vols., Paris, 1897–1981.
- BSB-Ink: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog, Wiesbaden 1988–.
- EBDB: Eindbanddatenbank, online: www.hist-einband.de
- EDIT 16: Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale. Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche, Rome 1985–.
Electronic resource: http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm
- French Books III & IV: Pettegree, Andrew, Walsby, Malcolm: *Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French*, Leiden [etc.], 2012.
- Germann: Martin Germann: *Die reformierte Stiftsbibliothek am Grossmünster Zürich im 16. Jahrhundert, Rekonstruktion des Buchbestandes und seiner Herkunft, der Bücheraufstellung und des Bibliotheksraumes. Mit Edition des Inventars von 1532/1551 von Conrad Pellikan*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 34, Wiesbaden 1994.
- Goff: Goff, Frederick R.: *Incunabula in American libraries. A third cen-*

- sus of fifteenth-century books recorded in North American collections, New York 1964.
- GW: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Hrsg. von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig 1925–.
Electronic resource: <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>
- H: Hain, Ludwig: Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum 1500 ... ordine alphabetico enumerantur ... opera Ludovici Hain, 2 vols. in 4, Stuttgart 1826–1838.
- HC: Copinger, Walter Arthur: Supplement to Hains repertorium bibliographicum or collections towards a new edition of that work, 2 vols. in 3, London 1852–1902.
- Index Aureliensis: Index Aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum, Baden-Baden 1962–.
- InkEi: Gebhard Müller: Katalog der Inkunabeln und Postinkunabeln der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln bis 1520, Basle 2010.
- Jerome: Jerome, Frank: Oberrheinische Buchillustrationen, 2 vols., Basle 1984.
- Köhler: Walther Köhler: Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek, Neujahrsblatt zum Besten des Waisenhauses Zürich 84 (1921), Zürich 1921.
- Mambelli: Mambelli, Giuliano: Gli annali delle edizioni Virgiliane, Florence 1954. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana. 27).
- NUC: The National Union Catalogue. Pre-1956 imprints. A cumulative author list representing Library of Congress printed cards and titles reported by other American libraries, 754 volumes, Chicago / IL 1968–1981.
- Pegg (Swiss): Pegg, Michael A.: A Catalogue of German reformation pamphlets (1516–1550) in Swiss libraries, Baden-Baden, 1983 (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana. 45).
- Reichling: Reichling, Dietrich: Appendices ad Haini-Copingeri repertorium bibliographicum additiones et emendationes, 8 vols., Munich 1905–1914.
- Renouard (Badius): Renouard, Philippe: Bibliographie des impressions des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius. Imprimeur et humaniste 1462–1535. 3 volumes, Paris 1908.
- Renouard (Paris): Renouard, Philippe: Inventaire chronologique des éditions Parisiennes du xvie siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard, Paris 1972–.
- Ritter: Ritter, François: Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace aux xvie et xvie siècles, 4 vols., Strasbourg 1932–1960.

- StAZH: Staatsarchiv Zürich
- VD 16: Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Hrsg. von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, 25 vols., Stuttgart 1983–1997.
Electronic resource: <http://www.vd16.de>
- Vischer: Vischer, Manfred: Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, erarbeitet in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Baden-Baden 1991 (*Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana*. 24).
- WA: D. Martin Luthers Werke, 73 vols., Weimar 1883–2009.
- Z: Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke, ed. by Emil Egli et al., 21 vols. (= *Corpus Reformatorum* 88–108), Berlin, Leipzig und Zürich 1905–2013.
- ZBZ: Zentralbibliothek Zürich
- ZS: Huldrych Zwingli: Schriften, ed. by Thomas Brunnschweiler et al., 4 vols, Zürich 1995.
- Zwa: Zwingliana. Beiträge zur Geschichte Zwinglis, der Reformation und des Protestantismus in der Schweiz, ed. by Zwingliverein, Zürich 1897–

Illustrations, Charts and Graph

Illustrations

- 1 Jerome: *Commentarius in Esaïam*, 9th century (see no. 205). Correction of the manuscript in Zwingli's hand on f. 5r: "hebraici characteris idiomα". 7
- 2 Jerome: *Commentarius in Esaïam*, 9th century (see no. 205). Correction of the manuscript in Zwingli's hand on f. 63r: "aliter prebuit". 8
- 3 Cicero: *Epistolarum familiarium libri*, Venice: Simone Bevilaqua, 1495 (see no. 48). Note by Zwingli on the pastedown endpaper. 23
- 4 Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola: *De rerum praenotione libri ...*, Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch and Mathias Schürer, 1506, f. vi r (see no. 148), with early Greek exercises by Zwingli. 26
- 5 New Testament (Greek), Basle: Johann Froben, 1516, owned by Zwingli's Hebrew teacher Johannes Böschenstein with the decalogue written in Böschenstein's hand (Schweizerischen Landesmuseum Zürich, call number: LM-111798). 32
- 6 *Passio undecim milium virginum*, Cologne: Martin von Werden, 1504 (see no. 100), with a letter from Henricus Glareanus to Zwingli, written in the second half of 1507. 34
- 7 Erasmus of Rotterdam: *Adagia*, Basle: Johann Froben, 1515, p. 67 (see no. 71), with Zwingli's typical handwriting before July 1519. 41
- 8 Martin Seger: *Dyss hand zwen schwytzer Puren gmacht ...*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1521. Title-woodcut with the divine mill designed by Huldrych Zwingli and Johannes Füssli (ZBZ, call number: Zwingli 106: a.1). 44
- 9 Jerome: *Opera*, Basel: Johann Froben, Basilius Amerbach etc., 1516, vol. 8 (see no. 98) with copious handwritten annotations by Zwingli to the *Psalterium quadruplex* (after July 1519). 50
- 10 Zwingli copied the Pauline epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews in his own hand in 1516/17 (see no. 203). He annotated his manuscript abundantly and often quoted Ori[gen]. 57
- 11 Johannes Damascenus: *De ineffabili divinitate ...*, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1507, f. 71v (see no. 107), with copious handwritten annotations by Zwingli from the period before 1508/10. 59
- 12 Titlepage of the *Psalterium polyglottum*, Genoa: Niccolo Giustiniani and Pietro Paolo Porro, 1516 (see no. 29). 63
- 13 Guillaume Farel: *Invitation to the discussion of the thesis*, Basle: Andreas Cratander, 1524, with a dedication from Johannes Oecolampadius and Bonifacius Wolfhart to Zwingli (see no. 86). 67
- 14 Flavius Josephus: *De antiquitate judaica ...*, Venice: Alberto Viani and Ottaviano

- Scoto, 1499 (see no. 113), f. 24r, with handwritten annotations by Zwingli from 1508 or shortly after. 72
- 15 Aristoteles: Opera, Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1495–1498 (see no. 9) with copious handwritten annotations by Zwingli to the *Historia animalium* and various forms of his “d” (vol. 3, f. 107r). 79
- 16 Claudius Ptolemaeus: Atlas orbis terrarum, [Strasbourg, ca. 1520]. Zwingli used this or another copy of Ptolemaeus at the abbey library at Grossmünster in Zürich for his study of the Old Testament (ZBZ, call number: IV ZZ 9). 80

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- 1 Titles per printing year 18

Zwingli and the World of Books

1 Zwingli as Reader

Zwingli loved the secluded life of study. It is no coincidence that he underlined the quotation by Horace: “Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis”¹ (Happy the man who is far away from the business) in his copy of the *Orationes praelectiones et praefationes* by Philipp Beroaldus (Paris, 1505). Already during the period 1506 to 1516, when he worked as a pastor in Glarus, it is believed he possessed an impressive private library because approximately 100 titles which he owned or used were printed before 1516.² The private library of the Glarus statesman, Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572), of which at least 245 titles have survived until today, is proof that it was quite possible to amass an illustrious collection of books, even in remote Glarus surrounded by Alps.³

Zwingli was not the first theologian in Glarus to purchase books: his predecessor, Johannes Stucki (ca. 1450–1506)⁴ owned several publications. We know this from a note in Zwingli’s hand on the front inside cover of his copy of the *Quodlibetales quaestiones* by Thomas Aquinas (Venice, 1501, no. 181). Zwingli wrote,⁵ that he had acquired three titles from Stucki’s library, namely the aforementioned work by Thomas Aquinas as well as works by Flavius Josephus (no. 113) and Aulus Gellius (no. 91).

It was during his sojourn in Glarus that Zwingli first began his study of Greek and Hebrew, as well as of the Church Fathers and Erasmus of Rotterdam, all of which he continued in Einsiedeln where he enjoyed ideal conditions for study. Einsiedeln at that time numbered about 1500 inhabitants,⁶ for whom Zwingli

1 Z XII, p. 158; cf. Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 109.

2 Farner (1946), vol. 2, pp. 119–124 and p. 158f.

3 Neuhaus (1965). The books belong to the holdings of the Kantonsbibliothek Aargau in Aarau.

4 Vasella (1957), p. 29.

5 Zwingli wrote in the book: “Uldricus Zwingli legenti salutem. Antecessor meus venerabilis magister Joannes Stucki plusculos moriens libros relievit, ex quibus quosdam quom emissem, mox nomine eius denigrato meum subscripsi, quoniam et alii superant preter eos, quos emeram eiusdem nomenclatura presigniti. Ne vel mei empticii suffurati viderentur, vel a non emptis mixti [?.]anno internoscerentur. E[x] omnibus ille unus est Quodlibetales Thome Sancti continens Questiones cum Iosepho et Aulo Gelio pro scuto franco emptus.” Above the previous owner’s note: “Sum Johannis Stuckij 1501”.

6 Ochsner (1993).

had pastoral care. Monastic life there had largely ground to a standstill. Since 1513, the convent had consisted solely of Abbot Conrad III. von Hohenrechberg (1440–1526) and the trustee Diebold von Geroldseck (†1531) who later joined the side of the reformers. Interestingly, in the spring of 1518, Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) ratified the ancient rights of the cloister as established by Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378), whereby the abbey and its members were not accountable to a secular court of law, but only to the emperor.⁷ Zwingli enjoyed much freedom in Einsiedeln and had the monastery library practically to himself.

Later, in Zürich where he worked from January 1st 1519, and where he had copious obligations which left him little free time, he wrote to Vadian⁸ that he explicitly assigned portions of time in his daily routine purely for reading. His friend and biographer, Oswald Myconius reports: “Even with laborious and time-consuming work to do, he never neglected his Greek studies, reading his way through Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, Thucydides as well as the easier texts by Lucian, Theocrit, Hesiod, Aristophanes and others. ... He allocated certain hours to his studies, never missing them unless crucial circumstances obliged him to. Early in the morning after rising, he devoted himself to reading, scriptural interpretation, study and writing until ten o’clock, depending on the demands of the day.”⁹

Many of the books which Zwingli owned or consulted contain his handwritten annotations. We find particularly numerous marginalia in those works which he read before his period in Zürich. At times he makes reference to other titles in his library, especially biblical ones. He was assiduous in reconstructing the original Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments. Over the years, Zwingli’s handwriting underwent various modifications, enabling us to distinguish three approximate phases or periods. Whilst he always used a swirling “s” and “f”, the letters “a” and, above all “d”, differ vastly. The first phase lasted from about 1496 to 1508 and we can date the end of the second phase very accurately. Zwingli used handwriting with a long “d” from about 1509 to

7 Ringholz (1904), pp. 582–586.

8 Letter from March 28, 1524, in: Z VIII, p. 166.

9 Myconius (1979), p. 50: “In tam anxii laboribus, Graecanicam lectionem haud unquam omittebat usque dum Homerum, Aristotelem, Platonem, Demosthenem, Thudydidem, et facillioris notae Lucianum Theocritum, Hesiodum, Aristophanem, reliquosque perlustrasset. ... Stando confecit omnia sua studia, certas eis vendicans horas, quas etiam non omisit nisi seriis coactus. A somno mane ad horam decimam lectioni, interpretationi, doctrinae, scriptioni dabat operam, prout temporis et rerum postulabat ratio.”

July 1519. The third phase is the least characteristic and therefore the most difficult to identify. He used this variant from July 1519¹⁰ until the end of his life (ill. 11, 7 and 9).¹¹

Zwingli's marginalia consist mainly of summaries of key points of the text, critical comments or occasionally remarks on the actual text itself. Zwingli did not always annotate with the same fervour, especially during his Zürich period. It would appear that in Zürich he lacked the time to read everything he received, as was the case with *De operibus Dei* by Martin Borrhaus (no. A 20). Zwingli wrote to Capito on the 8th August 1527, saying he was unable to read Borrhaus's book, but that he had passed it on to Leo Jud for reading and appraisal.¹²

Diverse comments from the years 1523/24 follow the same pattern. On the 4th December 1523 he complained to the Bernese that he had been called away ten times whilst writing a particular letter to them;¹³ similarly, on March 28th 1524, he regretted in a letter to his colleague Vadian in St. Gallen, that he never had time to finish his work in peace.¹⁴

2 Zwingli as User of Libraries

Zwingli not only read in his *studiolo*,¹⁵ but he visited also libraries and consulted their holdings. It can be assumed that he used the university libraries in Vienna and Basle as a student. We have at least one piece of concrete evidence for Vienna where Zwingli studied in 1498/99 and again from 1500 until 1502.¹⁶ This is a quotation from the *Invectiva coetus feminei contra mares* (no. A 40) by the apostolic secretary Giovanni Motis from Naples. The poem was printed several times in the 15th and 16th centuries. While there is no extant copy of an edition printed prior to 1511 in Switzerland, the Austrian National Library owns two copies which were printed in 1499 in Memmingen. It is quite possible that at least one of these came from the former university library and was seen there by Zwingli, as various books from that library

10 Schindler (1984), p. 31.

11 Cf. Farner (1943), vol. 1, p. 252f. (Farner dates the end of the first period to 1506 instead 1508).

12 Z IX, p. 182.

13 Z VIII, p. 140.

14 Z VIII, p. 166.

15 Concerning the humanistic *studiolo* see: Liebenwein (1977); Leu and Weidmann (2004), pp. 29–32; Marchi (2015).

16 Rüeegg (1908).

were already being transferred to the imperial court library (later, the Austrian National Library) in the 16th century.¹⁷

In his poem Giovanni Motis defends respectable women against their male slanderers,¹⁸ employing the dictum: whoever insults a woman, blasphemes against his own mother. Zwingli quoted a line from Motis' poem without mentioning the author's name: "Vel quia nos premitis? Quia vos femoralia fertis?" The whole hexameter in which the women address the men reads as follows:

"An quia nos premitis? Quia vos femoralia fertis?
Creditis eximiae laudis habere decus?"

(Just because you weigh down¹⁹ on us? Just because you wear the
trousers?
Do you think you enjoy special privileges?)

This verse seems to have made an impression on Zwingli; in any case, it is likely he wrote it down in a notebook and remembered it when he read the *Contra Apionem* by Flavius Josephus (no. 113). Josephus explains here (p. 179v) that, unlike other ancient cultures, Mosaic law held women in high esteem and reminded men of their obligations. The woman was indeed subject to the man, but he had to be faithful to her and take care of her. The polygamy prevalent in other cultures was forbidden by Moses. Zwingli underlined the following sentence in Josephus' text: "Mulier autem inferior, inquit, est viro per omnia"²⁰ ("The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man."²¹)

Zwingli noted by hand in the margin using the first line of Moti's hexameter: "Obedit igitur non ad iniuriam, sed ut sit sub regimine constituta. Deus enim viro potestatem dedit: Unde enim ius, inquit mulieres hoc versu. Vel quia nos premitis, quia vos femoralia fertis." (She is therefore not wrong to obey, but does so in order to have clearly appointed leadership. For God has given authority to the man: and so women have not the right to state in this verse: Just because you weigh down on us, just because you wear the trousers.)

There was a time lapse of several years between the presumed reading of Motis' poem in Vienna during the years 1498/99 or 1500/02, and the writing of

17 Pongratz (1977), S. 15.

18 Nisard (1864): p. 428f.

19 The latin word "premere" means also "to have sex".

20 Z XII, p. 381.

21 Josephus: *Contra Apionem* II, 201, in: Josephus (2004), p. 373.

the Josephus marginal glosses, which took place in Glarus in 1508 or later.²² It is unlikely that Zwingli committed this quotation by Motis to memory for years: he most probably recorded the fruits of his reading in notebooks, so-called loci-collections as was common practice at that time.²³

While the university library of Vienna probably held several hundred titles during Zwingli's time there,²⁴ the university library in Basle was very poorly stocked at the beginning of the 16th century, barely worth visiting. The monasteries in Basle fared better, particularly the Carthusian monastery which held 2,000 to 3,000 books. In 1528, as a consequence of the Reformation, these books were transferred for the most part into the university library.²⁵ In Glarus, Zwingli himself acquired a few books, not least from the library of his predecessor Johannes Stucki, but there was no sizeable library or church library there. The situation in Einsiedeln was very different: the monastery library was well-equipped and Zwingli had virtually exclusive use of it for himself. Einsiedeln still holds to this day around 230 medieval manuscripts from the Church Fathers. If we take into consideration the huge losses incurred by the fire of 1577, we can assume that Zwingli had access to hundreds, if not thousands, of volumes in Einsiedeln.²⁶

Despite repeated attempts at unearthing signs of Zwingli's activity in the monastery library in Einsiedeln, nothing was ever found. In 1934 Walther Köhler stated with resignation: "In der Einsiedler Stiftsbibliothek ist nichts mehr für Zwingli zu holen."²⁷ Regrettably, Köhler omitted to list the volumes which he had scrutinised. The following list presents all the works which we consulted in vain for traces of Zwingli's hand:²⁸

Ambrosius:

No. 28: *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, Augsburg 1476, Jnc 37(591)

No. 29: *Hexaameron*, Milan 1476/77, Jnc 438(335)

No. 803: *Opera*, Basle 1506, Jnc 981(691)

Athanasius:

No. 844: *In psalmos opusculum ...*, Strasbourg 1508, Jnc 930.1(772)

22 Zwingli mentions the years 1507 and 1508 in two manuscript annotations, cf. Z XII, p. 371 and 381.

23 Leu (2007b).

24 Mittendorfer (1994), p. 38f.

25 Schnepf (2011), p. 121.

26 Lang (2010), p. 138, 367 und 394.

27 Köhler (1934), p. 4.

28 The numbers are according InkEi.

Augustinus:

No. 70: De civitate dei, Basle 1489, Jnc 31.2(197)

No. 71: De trinitate, Basle 1489, Jnc 31.1(197)

Basilius Magnus:

No. 887: Ad adolescentes: De legendi libris gentilium, Strasbourg 1503, Jnc 50.1(1064)

No. 888: Ad adolescentes: De legendi libris gentilium, Strasbourg 1507, Jnc 53.7 (933)

Chrysostomus:

No. 1304: Opera, Basle 1504, Jnc 33(339)

Cyprianus:

No. 1059: Opera, Paris 1512, Jnc 933(720)

Eusebius:

No. 274: Historia ecclesiastica, Strasbourg 1500, Jnc 335.2(390)

Gregorius Magnus:

No. 1203: Dialogi ..., Lyon 1516, Jnc 985.1(1180)

No. 1205: Epistolae ..., Venice 1505, Jnc 564(483)

Lactantius:

No. 1341: Opera, Paris 1509, Jnc 845(897)

No. 1342: Divinae institutiones etc., Florence 1513, Jnc 871(1084)

Livius:

No. 1366: Historiae Romanae decades, Paris 1513, Jnc 674(180)

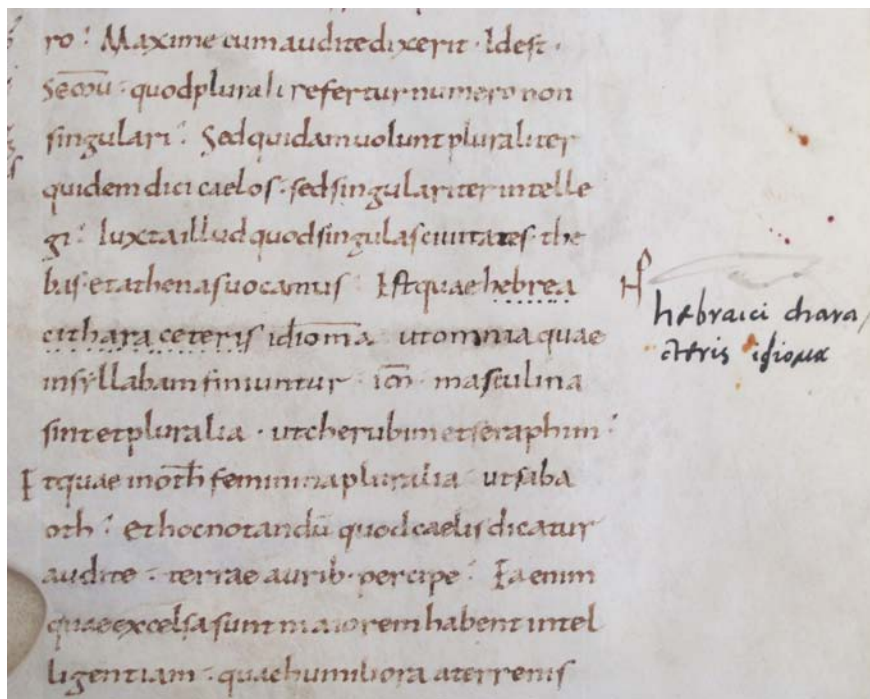
No. 1368: Historiae Romanae decades, Paris 1516, Jnc 675(181)

Rufinus:

No. 650: Expositio symboli ..., Cologne, ca. 1470, Jnc 155.2(841)

On 17th August 2017, this author managed to identify a codex which Zwingli had used and into which he had even written his observations.²⁹ It is a commentary on Isaiah by the Church Father Jerome, dating from the late 9th century

29 Ribi (2017).



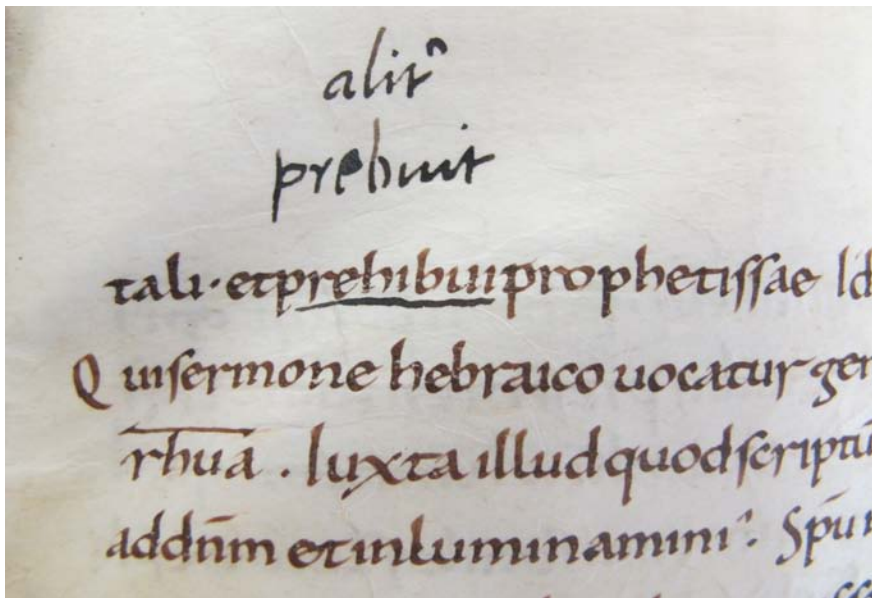
ILL. 1 Jerome: Commentarius in Esaia, 9th century (see no. 205). Correction of the manuscript in Zwingli's hand on f. 5r: "hebraici characteris idioμα"

(no. 205). On three pages of this text, Zwingli corrected Latin and a Greek mistakes, demonstrating his sharp critical mind (ill. 1 and 2). Although it had been claimed for some time that Zwingli had consulted this codex³⁰ and we have his reference to it in the published commentary to Isaiah by Jerome,³¹ no-one had yet recognised the Reformer's handwriting, which typifies his Einsiedeln period, with its characteristic "d" displaying the long downward stroke.

One mystery remains concerning Zwingli's study of the church fathers: how did Zwingli come by his knowledge of the Church Father Ambrose? During his period in Einsiedeln, he bought the works of the Church Father Jerome, printed in 1516 in Basle: in volume five of this work, he made a note referring to Ambrose (f. 4v): "Vide Fullonem apud Ambr[osium] in Lucam fo, 123 D E". This quota-

30 Ringholz (1904), p. 588; Odo Lang: Katalog der Handschriften in der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, Erster Teil, Codices 1–500, p. 295 f. (typescript); Pagnamenta and Jäger (2017), p. 15.

31 See no. 98: Jerome: Opera, Basle 1516, vol. 5, f. 33r (ZBZ, call number: 111 ZZ 126). Zwingli wrote to the printed word "fundabit" the following text: "fundavit, sicut expositio sonat vetustusque Eremiti codex."



ILL. 2 Jerome: *Commentarius in Esaiam*, 9th century (see no. 205). Correction of the manuscript in Zwingli's hand on f. 63r: "aliter prebuit"

tion refers to a passage in the commentary on Luke by Ambrose, specifically page 123, sections D and E. This reference corresponds exactly to the second volume of the works of Ambrose printed in Basle in 1516 (no. A 1). It is possible, that he bought this copy during his stay in Einsiedeln, but left no traces in the books.

After Zwingli moved to Zürich, he used various books from the abbey library of the Grossmünster there, some of them even contain his handwritten annotations.³² On the other hand in the wake of the Reformation, copious works were removed from this library.³³ In 1536 the library held 473 books,³⁴ clearly not sufficient to provide for the intellectual needs of Zürich's scholars, obliging them to acquire additional books at their own expense.

Zwingli also used other libraries. In connection with the Berne Disputation of January 1528, the Bernese reformer Berchtold Haller informed Zwingli about publications available in that city. The Old Testament in Greek was apparently unobtainable but they did have a New Testament in Greek and Nicolaus von

32 Cf. for example no. 158, p. 213.

33 Germann (2000).

34 Germann (1994), p. 132.

Wattenwyl owned a Hebrew Bible. Representing the Church Fathers, works by Jerome, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Chrysostom and Augustine could be obtained.³⁵ With the exception of Wattenwyl's Hebrew Bible, it is unclear from the correspondence, whether these books were in private hands or in the collections of institutions.

We have evidence for another library visit by Zwingli, this time in Strasbourg in September 1529. The Strasbourg reformer Caspar Hedio (1494–1552) apologises in a letter to Zwingli dated 27th June 1530,³⁶ stating that he can no longer locate the excerpt from an unnamed work by the Venerable Bede (672–735) which he had transcribed in Zwingli's presence in the Cathedral library (*bibliotheca templi maioris*) and which Zwingli is now requesting. Zwingli was in Strasbourg between the 8th and the 18th of September 1529 before attending the Marburg Colloquy with Luther.³⁷ We cannot always know from Zwingli's library visits or from his notebooks, whether he actually owned a given work or simply consulted and excerpted from it, using it from another collection. This pertains in particular to the works listed here in Catalogue A.

3 Building up a Library

As can be deduced from the above discussion on the holdings of early modern libraries, a maximum of a few thousand titles would have been available to scholars during Zwingli's lifetime. It can thus be inferred that they had to purchase many of the books they wanted themselves, due to the difficulty, at times sheer impossibility, of accessing the material otherwise. Zwingli had owned books since his youth. On 31st August 1526 he wrote to the Basle priest Peter Gynoraues saying that, as a student, he had carried round with him a Latin-German edition of the *Disticha Catonis* (no. A 37).³⁸ As is well known, the young Zwingli successfully completed the Latin schools in Basle and Berne. At the end of his period in Berne, which lasted from 1496 to 1498, he probably bought Cicero's *De officiis* (Paris 1498, no. 49). The price of nine Bernese Groschen ("per 9 Grossis Ursinis") is written on the front inside cover. As Zwingli, the son of a farmer and local politician, did not come from a poor family, he could certainly afford some books, but he probably only laid the foundations of his private library after his appointment in Glarus when he earned enough money as a

35 Letter from Haller to Zwingli, November 26, 1527: Z IX, p. 314.

36 Z X, p. 646.

37 Erichson (1881), p. 416 f.

38 Z VIII, p. 702 f.

priest. Zwingli enjoyed great popularity in eastern Switzerland. A marginal note in the *Adagia* by Erasmus of Rotterdam (Basle 1515, no. 71, p. 284) reveals that he not only lived in Glarus as a private scholar but that he also participated in the lives of the people there. Erasmus states in the *Adagia* that the inhabitants of Attica were awarded one talent for hunting down a young wolf and two talents for an adult one. Zwingli noted that this was stupid: double the payment should have been awarded for hunting young wolves, as was the case in Glarus, because a young animal would go on to kill more prey during his life than an adult or an older animal. Thus Zwingli considered the Glarner people cleverer than the ancient Greeks: “Fatuum hoc erat nam pro catulo duplicatum cuius educatio maioris constat, dari debebat, prudentius igitur Claronenssi”.³⁹

He could only know such things if he lived in close contact with the local population. As priest responsible for about 1300 inhabitants, Zwingli had not only their spiritual, but also their intellectual welfare in his care. For this reason he founded the first Latin school in Glarus, encouraging several young boys in their studies. One particular young man who benefited from his support was Valentin Tschudi (1499–1555),⁴⁰ orphaned in 1512 at the age of thirteen. Tschudi went on to become Zwingli’s successor in Glarus in October 1522. Tschudi thanked Zwingli for his benevolence in a letter of July 31st 1514, particularly for permission to use his library. We also learn from other sources that his book collection must have been of a significant size at that time. The young humanist Wilhelm Nesen (1493–1524) from Nassau praised Zwingli’s library on May 8th 1516, noting that it was replete with writers of the very best renown.⁴¹

As a result of his seclusion at the foot of the Glarus Alps, Zwingli relied on the support of friends to keep him informed about new publications and help him gain access to them. It was above all crucial to have a contact in Basle to keep one up to date, as this was the leading book and publishing centre in the Helvetic Confederation.⁴² One of Zwingli’s most important informants was the Glarner compatriot Henricus Glareanus (1488–1563) who was based in Basle from 1514 onwards and notified Zwingli of new publications, as for example in a letter of October 19th 1516: “I have set all the levers in motion on your behalf. I have been successful, having almost had to fight for it, in buying for you with the rest of your money the *Cornucopiae* by Perottus [Latin grammar] along with Varro, Festus and Nonius Marcellus, printed in Venice by Aldus. From the same publisher, I have bought you all the works of Lactantius Firmianus

39 Z XII, p. 261.

40 Farner (1946), vol. 2, pp. 21–23.

41 Z VII, p. 40.

42 Leu (2014).

and works by Tertullian: books indispensable to a Christian theologian and a man of literature ... furthermore, I bought you, dare I say it, the *Letters of the Dunkelmänner* to Porcvinus Gracchus, that is: Ortwinus Gratius ... In addition, Wolfgang Lachner sent people to Venice to bring back the best works from the Aldine publisher: Gellius, Caesar, Plato, Cicero, Homer, Lucian, Demosthenes and countless others, whom I have no time to enumerate. One has to be on one's toes! If you want some of them, write to Lachner as amicably as you can: he may not forget you. Tell him you will leave a deposit with me. When good books arrive in Basle, there are immediately thirty people trying to seize them without having the necessary funds. So voracious is the hunger and fuss of some of these people, but it is only that—fuss. They do not have any real use for these books because they do not understand them, yet they still want them.”⁴³

The transport of Zwingli's books was partly done by the bookseller Andreas Castelberger⁴⁴ from the canton Graubünden, who later joined the Anabaptists. As well as Glareanus, Zwingli employed another local man as an intermediary of books: the student Conrad Brunner (Fonteiuss, †1519).⁴⁵ Brunner's account book still exists in the Basle university Library in which he recorded the payments and deliveries made by himself and others.⁴⁶ His clients included Huldrych Zwingli and his brother Andreas who died in Zürich during the plague of Autumn 1520.⁴⁷ Brunner's entries indicate that Zwingli repeatedly sent him between two and fifteen guilders for buying books. On at least one occasion, as in November 1518, Zwingli personally gave him three guilders dur-

43 Z VII, pp. 42–44: “In re tamen tua sollicitavi fidelissime. Nam magna vix contentione obtinui, ut Cornu Perotti una cum Varone [!], Festo et Nonio Marcello in Aldina litera tibi pro relictis aut si mavis reliqua apud me pecunia vindicarem. Emi et in eadem litera tibi Lactantii Firmiani omnia quae possunt haberi opera una cum Tertulliani voluminibus, libros Christiano theologo et viro in bonis literis erudito oppido quam necessarios. ... Emi et nescio quid, audeamne dicere? Porcvinus Gracchi—dicere volui ad Ortwinum Gratium—epistolas ... Caeterum Lachnerus ille Guolfgangus misit Venetias, qui in litera Aldina optimos quosque autores afferant: Gellium, Caesarem, Platonem, Ciceronem, Homerum, Lucianum, Demosthenem et, quos referre non mora est, innumeros alios. Qua in re cautione utendum: si ex iis aliquos habere voles, rescribito Lachnero ut potes amicissime, ne tui obliviscatur; velle te pecuniam promptam apud me ponere. Atque id eam ob causam potissimum: quicquid enim bonorum librorum Basileam venit, triginta adsunt, qui vix conquisito precio arripiunt; tantus est appetitus hominum et furor (nam et furor est) nonnullorum, quibus tamen hi libri neque usui sunt, neque intelligunt, habere tamen volunt et, quam sapere, strenue insanire malunt.”

44 Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 118.

45 Cf. Z VII, p. 72 f., 78, 197 etc. Cf. Hilgert (1971), pp. 154–156.

46 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 21r–36v.

47 Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 358.

ing a trip to Basle.⁴⁸ When the money was spent, Zwingli sent him further funds. In 1518 Brunner made a note of many authors which Froben had purchased at the Frankfurt Book Fair for Zwingli:⁴⁹

- Aristoteles de animalibus Theodoro Gaza interprete (= no. 10)
- Platonis opera latine (= no. 152)
- Strabo (= no. 173)
- Vertuvius [= Vetruvius] (= no. 188)
- Demosthenes grece (= no. 60)
- Lascaris grammatica (= no. A 113)
- Dialogi Luciani et commentaria (= no. A 116)
- Hesiodus (= no. A 85)
- Chrysostomus (= no. 106)
- Hilarius (= no. 99)
- Caelius Rhodiginus (= no. 168)

Further titles, which Brunner procured for Zwingli in 1518/19 are also listed in his account book:⁵⁰

- Suetonius (= no. 176)
- Lutherii funff [five copies of a certain title written by Luther, title not mentioned]
- Auctarium (probably no. 75)
- Opera Ovidii in littera Aldina (= no. A 172)
- Plutarchus grece (= no. 156)
- Plato grece (= no. 151)
- Opera Politiani (= no. 158)
- Enchiridion (= no. 70 or 76)
- Aulus Gellius (= no. A 78)
- Aristoteles grecus (= no. 9)
- Suidas (no. 178)⁵¹
- Hutten: Aula (= no. A 99)
- Enchiridion funff [five copies of Erasmus' "Enchiridion militis christiani"]
- Querela pacis (= no. 74)

48 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic ratio-
narium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 23v. Cf. AK 2, p. 109.

49 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic ratio-
narium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 22v.

50 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic ratio-
narium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 23v–30r. I was not able to decipher three
further titles on these pages.

51 800 copies have been printed from this title and more than 5% are still extant in European
libraries. Cf. Nuovo (2015), p. 105.

- Opuscula Plutarchi (= no. 154 or 155)
- Novum testamentum (= no. 32)
- Plinius, Historia naturalis (= no. A 184)
- Calendarium magnum Romanum Ioannis Stöffler (= no. A 200)
- Grammatica Oecolampadii (= no. A 158)

While it can be assumed that Zwingli owned the above works, the four titles which Brunner lists on a single separate sheet, without noting their price or any further details, rather seem like a wish list of Zwingli's. It is unclear whether or not he actually ever owned them:

“Pro Zinglio:
 Lucianum grece,
 Eusebium de temporibus
 Aristophanem cum commentariis
 Ethymologicon magnum grecum”⁵²

Further observers of, and scouts for, the Basle book market were Froben's proofreader Jacob Nepos⁵³ and the famous humanist and proofreader Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547).⁵⁴ A similar role was later assumed on behalf of Heinrich Bullinger by the Basle theologians Johannes Gast (†1552) and Conrad Lycosthenes (1518–1561).⁵⁵ Zwingli was particularly indebted to Rhenanus as he wrote to him in a letter of 7th June 1519: “I am greatly beholden to Froben for many reasons, but equally to you also because of your tireless efforts on my behalf (mine and that of my flock): on the appearance of every new book, you diligently ensure that we get it.”⁵⁶ Zwingli gave money to the above-mentioned friends in Basle to buy books for him, sending them more when it ran out.⁵⁷

We can deduce from the price of books in Zwingli's library that they were generally not cheap, quite the contrary. Cicero's *De officiis* which cost nine Bernese Groschen has already been cited. On 2nd July 1519, Simon Stumpf wrote to Zwingli from Basle informing him that the Basle printer Andreas Cratander (about 1490–1540) was selling an edition of Aristophanes for five

52 University Library Basle, Msc. c VI a 30, f. 12r.

53 Cf. z VII, p. 205, 301, 309 etc. Cf. Hilgert (1971), p. 164f.

54 Cf. z VII, p. 72f., 78, 197 etc. Cf. Hilgert (1971), pp. 154–156.

55 Leu and Weidmann (2004), p. 34f.

56 z VII, p. 181: “Multa debeo Frobenio non unis nominibus, multa preterea tibi, quod nostrorum (mei dico oviumque meorum) tantam curam alis, ut, si quid orbis novi pariat, ut habeamus, sedulo provideas.”

57 Köhler (1921), p. 25.

guilders and six shillings (cf. no. A 7).⁵⁸ On 12th October 1520, Zwingli sent three guilders to the printer Curio for a bound edition of Euripides (no. A 66)⁵⁹ and for a particular edition of Lucian he even had to part with five guilders (no. 126).⁶⁰ One of his most expensive books was probably his edition of the works of Augustine (no. 13).⁶¹ The edition printed later in 1529 by Johannes Froben (about 1460–1527) had cost 18 guilders.⁶² The eleven-volume edition of this work by the printer Amerbach, which Zwingli owned, was unlikely to have been much cheaper. Zwingli paid off this work in at least two installments because on 8th March 1521 he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus that he had sent four guilders to the bookseller Mathias Biermann⁶³ to settle the debts for his Augustine.⁶⁴

If we calculate Zwingli's income, it becomes evident that the Reformer spent a comparatively large amount of his money on his library which numbered several hundred titles. He was prepared to spend substantial sums on books and on education. We do not know how much he earned in Glarus, his financial situation in Einsiedeln is better documented. As well as a papal pension of 50 guilders per year for his military services in northern Italy,⁶⁵ he also had a sinecure from Glarus and received an annual salary of twenty guilders from the monastery in Einsiedeln. There, he was also entitled to part of the so-called *Beichtschilling* (confessional shilling), to the fees for reading Masses (Obolations) and to a quarter of the donations at a funeral (mortuaries). Furthermore, he held the parish of Glarus *de jure* and had a locum vicar, thus securing for himself an additional income. Zwingli certainly earned over 100 guilders annually in Einsiedeln, which was not the case during his early days in Zürich.⁶⁶ In 1525

58 Z VII, p. 195.

59 Z VII, p. 354.

60 Z VII, p. 313.

61 Köhler argued, that it was a present from Froben to Zwingli, because he ascribed the handwritten dedication on the cover to Froben: "Pro Huldericho Zuinglio". Cf. Köhler (1921), p. *3. The handwriting does not belong to Froben as a comparison with a explicit dedication from Froben proves (no. 189). The "dedication" on the cover is not a "dedication", but an address, written by the bookseller Mathias Biermann. Cf. Z VII, p. 440.

62 AK 3, p. 502.

63 Grimm (1965/66), Sp. 1383.

64 Z VII, p. 440. Cf. concerning the prices for books also: Leu and Weidmann (2004), pp. 24–28.

65 According to Franz Zink (†1530), who transferred the papal pensions to Zwingli, they should enable him to have a better life and allow him to buy books. Cf. letter from Zinck to Zwingli, August 20, 1521, Z VII, p. 469.

66 Many priests earned quite a lot of money because of the naivity of the people. A printer earned roughly 1/30 shilling for a printed letter of indulgence, which was sold from the

Zwingli wrote that during the course of the past year, he had barely earned 60 guilders and twelve Mutt of grain,⁶⁷ having terminated the papal pension of 50 guilders in 1520.⁶⁸ His salary later increased: in 1531 he earned 140 guilders and 64.5 Mutt of grain as well as three Malter and six Vierling⁶⁹ of oats. There was an additional income of 400 pounds (= 200 guilders) from a so called Chorherrn-Pfrundlehen (prebend) of St. Leonhard.⁷⁰ Unlike Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli renounced authors' fees, believing, that the Gospel should be preached free of charge, whether in person or through one's writing.⁷¹

In view of the price of books discussed above and considering the normal salaries of the time, it is clear, that gifts of books would have been very welcome to scholars like Zwingli.⁷² The most frequent donors were the Basle reformer Johannes Oecolampadius with 31 titles and the Basle printer Johann Froben (15 titles).⁷³ Other donors from Basle were the philologists Beatus Rhenanus (3) and Simon Grynaeus (1), as well as the theologians Petrus Gynoraues (4), Luke Rollenbutz (1) and Bonifacius Wolfhart (1). Zwingli also received books from friends and scholars from Augsburg,⁷⁴ Constance,⁷⁵ Nuremberg⁷⁶ and Strasbourg.⁷⁷ His personal circle of acquaintances also furnished him with gifts of books: for example, the Zürich philologist Johann Jakob Ammann (1500–1573), the southern German exile John Chuffer (Kueffer / Kieffer) who had sought asylum in Zürich, the Zürich doctor Christoph Clauser († 1552) and the physician Janus Cornarius (1500–1558) who had applied for a job in Zürich. Zwingli also received dedication copies from his famulus Hieronymus Guntius, his compatriot Henricus Glareanus and the former pastor from Höngg Nicolaus Bavarus

church for 10 shillings. So the printer received 1 shilling for 30 letters and the church 300 shillings (the church earned 299 shillings = 0,75 guilder). Cf. Eisermann (2017), p. 87.

67 Z IV, p. 406.

68 Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 408.

69 1 Malter = 4 Mütt = 16 Viertel = 64 Vierling = ca. 150 litres.

70 Corrodi-Sulzer (1923), p. 178.

71 Leu (2017), p. 195 f.

72 Cf. the index "Donors" at the end of this book.

73 These are the amounts of still extant and lost titles according to handwritten dedications in the books and Zwingli's correspondence.

74 Jörg Regel (follower of Zwingli) and the theologians Urbanus Rhegius and Wolfgang Wackinger.

75 The bookseller Gregor Mangold and the theologians Ambrosius Blarer, Johannes Fabri (catholic), Johannes Wanner.

76 The theologian Franz Kolb and the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer.

77 The councillor Jakob Sturm and the reformers Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito and Caspar Hedio.

(Peier).⁷⁸ It is possible that the aspiring philologist Johannes Fries (1505–1565) also thanked him for Greek lessons by presenting him with a Bible.⁷⁹ Further book gifts to the Reformer in Zürich came from the theologian Ludwig Hätzer († 1529), the humanist from Ravensburg Michael Hummelberg (1487–1527), the town clerk of Solothurn, Georg Herwig, and from the the Catholic theologians, Johannes Eck (1486–1543) and Michael Sander († ca. 1529). The latter worked as secretary to Cardinal Matthäus Schiner (about 1465–1522). Both Eck and Sander were in Zürich at various times and supported Zwingli's election as Leutpriester at the Grossmünster. Sander was also the Dean of the Chapter in Bratislava.⁸⁰

When Hieronymus Guntius, who served Zwingli as Amanuensis until 1529, sent him an edition of Sallustius as a present on 8th December 1529 (no. A 194), he informed him that it was bound in cheap parchment.⁸¹ If Zwingli wished, Michael Schwyzer († 1566), Froschauer's bookbinder, could bind it for him in a more attractive way. We do not know whether Zwingli accepted this offer or not, as the book in question is now lost. Schwyzer, who hailed from Wildberg in the Zürich Oberland, was working in Zürich no later than 1529 or 1530 as his earliest bindings in Zwingli's library date from these years and evince his characteristic motifs of the so-called Jagdrollen type embossed on pig leather binding. In Zwingli's library we more often encounter the Jagdrollen type of binding typical of Basle, on which Schwyzer partly modelled his work,⁸² suggesting that Zwingli more often than not bought his books already bound, rather than having this done subsequently in Zürich.

The Basle Jagdrollen type mentioned above was used by the bookbinder and bookseller Mathias Biermann. He came from Jülich and had his business in Basle in the fish market area (near the Lochbrunnen) between about 1510 and 1528. He must have had a handsome beard because Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter of March 18th 1528, refers to him as the bearded Mathias.⁸³ Furthermore, Glareanus told Zwingli on 19th October 1516 that he would give the books he bought for him to the bearded one (*barbatus*) for binding.⁸⁴ On 22nd February 1519,

78 Cf. Bavarus learns Greek with Zwingli: Hilgert (1971), p. 163f.

79 Pellikan (1892), p. 106. The dedication from Fries to Zwingli (no. 24) shows on the titlepage near the year of the dedication a lack of paper, so that the year cannot be determined exactly. Furthermore it is not known, how long Zwingli kept his circle of Greek students.

80 Cf. Zimmermann (1938), p. 149f. and pp. 476–478.

81 Z X, p. 346.

82 Steinmann (2000), Heft 6, pp. 10–15.

83 Grimm (1965/66), Sp. 1383.

84 Z VII, p. 42.

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus about an order by Michael Sander for a particular type of binding: "The works of Chrysostom are to be put together in the same way as mine, that is, bound in two parts, the rest, the works of Erasmus, are to be bound in boards. But Mathias is also to bind in boards another little handbook by Erasmus [Enchiridion militis christiani] for Heinrich Utinger ...".⁸⁵

He instructed Mathias to divide the works of Chrysostom into two volumes as he had done for Zwingli. Zwingli's copy is preserved in the ZBZ and exhibits the embossing technique used by Biermann. The same embossing tools were used on the bindings of Zwingli's copy of the works of Augustine, which he apparently not only bought from Biermann,⁸⁶ but also had him bind. The motifs of the Basle Jagdrollen type feature on the bindings of at least seventeen books in Zwingli's private library.

The motifs of two other bookbinders appear in Zwingli's library. One is most probably the workshop of Johannes Murer from Zürich,⁸⁷ the other the so-called Laus Deo II workshop, which had been active since about 1474 and includes, among others, a stamp with the text scroll "Laus Deo".⁸⁸

By the end of his life, Zwingli owned more than 400 books. In accordance with his wishes, these were transferred on his death to the abbey library of the Grossmünster for 200 pounds, the money benefitting Zwingli's children.⁸⁹ The librarian, Conrad Pellikan, did not preserve Zwingli's collection intact but integrated the books into the existing stock.⁹⁰ It is impossible to ascertain why, today at least, one title is to be found in Aarau and also in St. Gallen or how various books found their way into the stock of the Zürich city library, founded in 1629 or even why 240 books are now missing. With regard to this lost works, it is worth observing, that many of these had been printed in the 1520's and were thus recent publications in Zwingli's collection:

85 Z VII, p. 139: "Chrysostomi opera eo modo, quo nobis sunt concinnati, in duas scilicet partes ligentur, cetera Erasmica in cartaceos asseres (hültzi schuriseli). Sed et 'Enchiridion' item aliud intra cartas Matthias arceat pro domino Henrico Utingero ...".

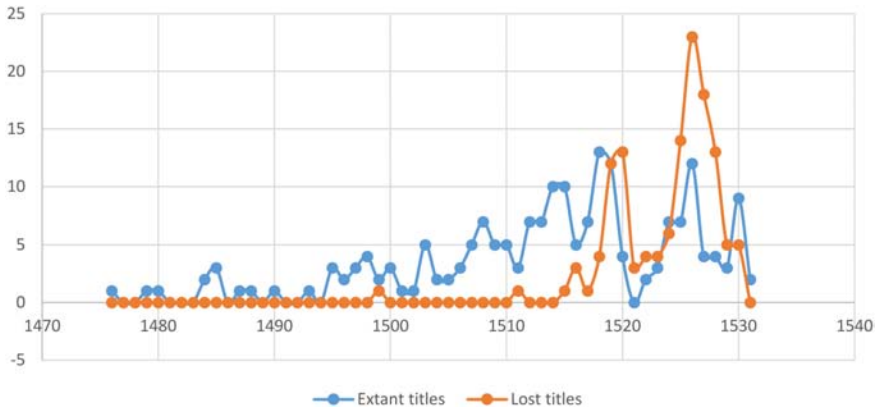
86 Z VII, p. 440.

87 Steinmann (2001), Heft 9, pp. 13–16.

88 Cf. Einbanddatenbank (EBDB) of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (citation number: w003647), for the mentioned stamp see: <http://www.hist-einband.de/recherche/ebwerkz.php?rwz=m&id=126804s>.

89 Corrodi-Sulzer (1923), p. 178f.

90 Germann (1994), pp. 166–168.



GRAPH 1 Titles per printing year

It could be speculated that he had already singled them out as unworthy of preservation, many of them originating as they did from his Lutheran,⁹¹ Catholic⁹² and Anabaptist⁹³ opponents.⁹⁴ Other volumes most probably did enter the collection of the abbey library, were organised and shelved there by Pellikan, others disappeared over the centuries.⁹⁵ Additionally, it is conceivable that further books entered the abbey library as Zwingli stipulated and were transferred from there into the holdings of the ZBZ, but are no longer identifiable as having belonged to Zwingli.

91 25 printed titles written by Luther, 5 by Melancthon, 3 by Bugenhagen and 2 by Osiander. Also the Lutherans destroyed books written by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. Pastor Jakob Grotzsch wrote on January 20, 1529, to Zwingli, that the Lutherans buy all the books written by Zwingli and Oecolampadius at the Frankfurt book fair, burn them and throw them into their toilets. Cf. z x, p. 31.

92 5 printed titles written by Eck, 4 by Fabri, 2 by Murner and 1 by Emser.

93 4 printed titles written by Hubmaier, 1 by Denck and 1 by Schwenckfeld.

94 8 printed titles written by Erasmus, one of Zwingli's later opponents.

95 For example very probably the volumes with "De asse" written by Budé (cf. A 28 and Germann, no. 578) and *De coniuratione Catilinae* by Sallustius (cf. A 194 and Germann, no. 432).

Contents of Zwingli's Library

It can be established that Zwingli owned and used 445 titles, of which only 205 remain in existence today. 143 of these 205, about three quarters of the collection, originate from the famous centres of book publishing: Basle, Paris, Rome, Strasbourg and Venice, Basle being the most ubiquitous in his collection (chart 1).

The importance of Basle becomes even more evident if one considers where Zwingli's "lost books" were printed. Of the 117 titles for which the place of printing is known, the following cities are the most important: Basle (43), Zürich (14), Strasbourg (13), Augsburg (8), Hagenau (7), Nuremberg (6) and Wittenberg (5). Indeed, Zwingli's library was clearly a theological one with a weighting towards that subject, but it is noteworthy that nearly half the works are from other disciplines, reflecting the interdisciplinary interests of their owner (extant and lost books and manuscripts) (chart 2).

The category "Others" includes Architecture, Music, Politics, Law and Rhetoric. The topic "Science" also comprises Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics and Medicine and "History" takes in the auxiliary historical subjects as well as contemporary history. Looking more closely at "Theology", the following pie chart emerges, where the categories of "Baptism", "The Lord's Supper" and "Polemics" are more closely aligned to Protestant theology (chart 3).

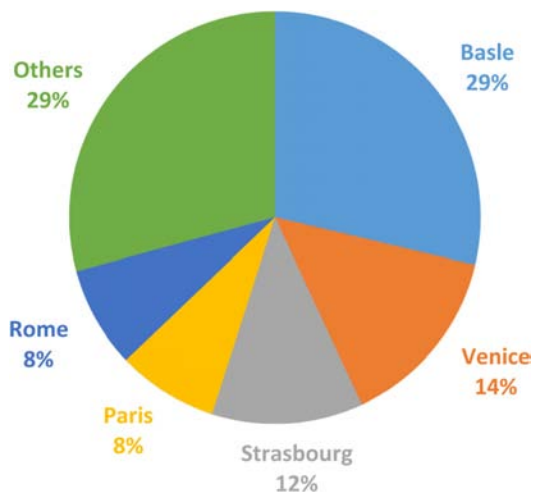


CHART 1 Printing places

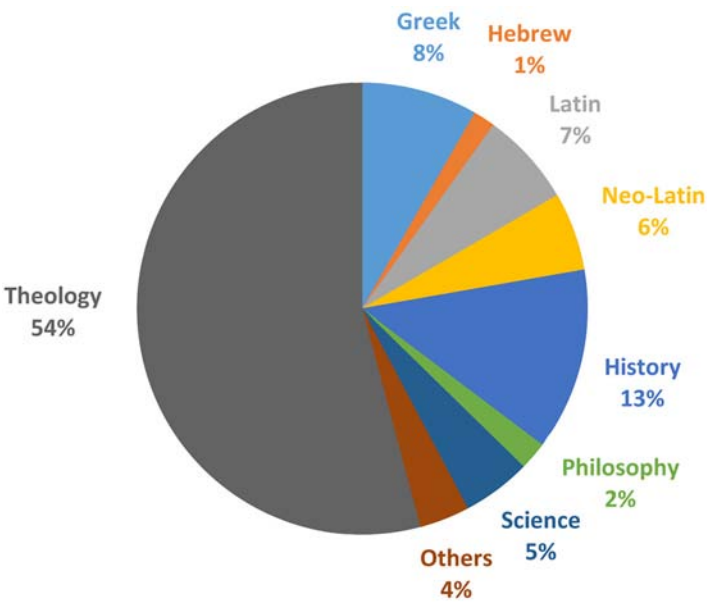


CHART 2 Subjects

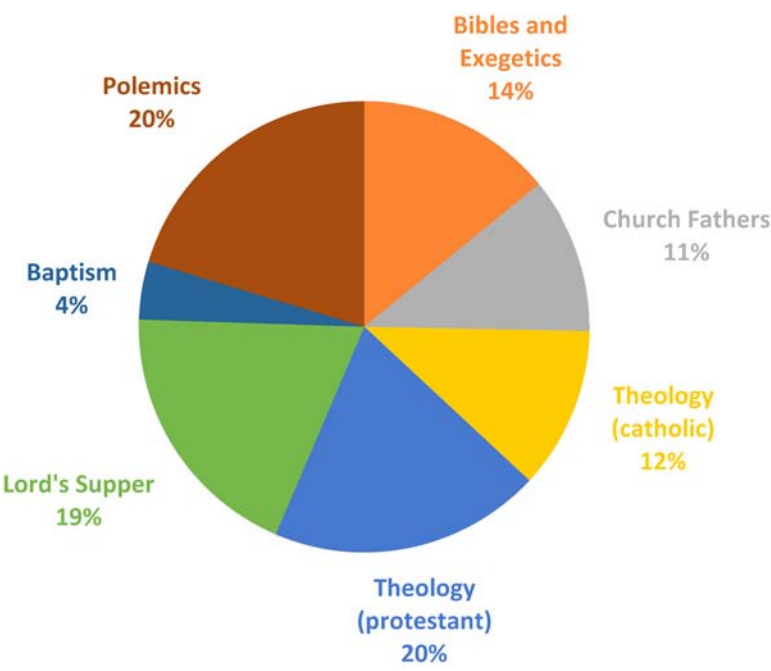


CHART 3 Theology

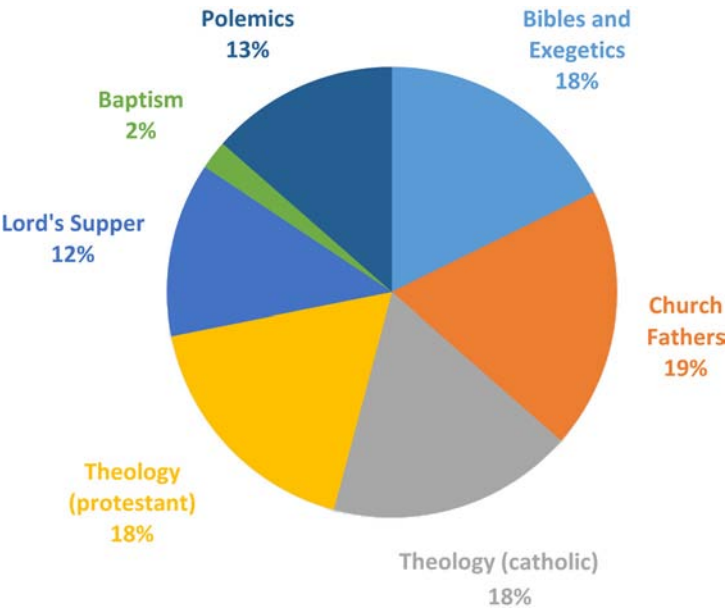


CHART 4 Theology (extant titles)

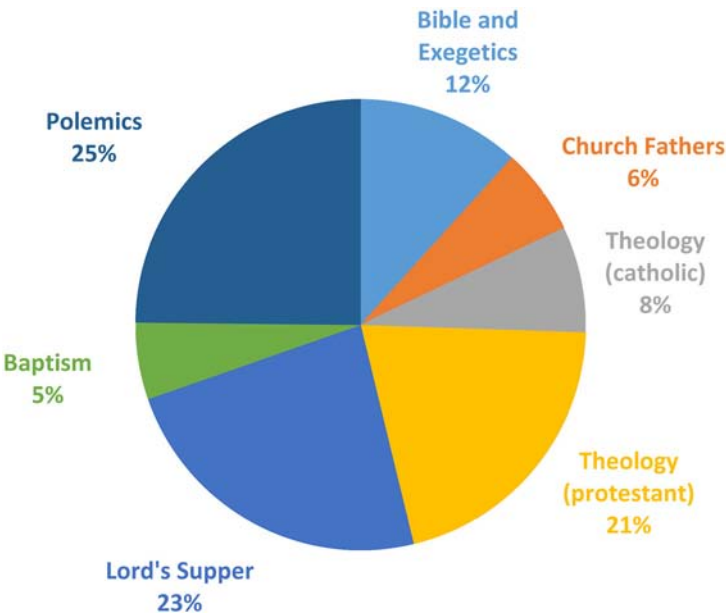


CHART 5 Theology (lost titles)

If we compare the actual content values of the extant titles with those now lost, which as we have seen were often newer publications, then it becomes apparent that the main emphasis of Zwingli's theological reading shifted to the dispute about the "Lord's Supper" (increase of 11 %) and "Polemics" (increase of 12 %) at the cost of "Bibles and Exegetics" (minus 6 %) and the "Church Fathers" (minus 13 %) (charts 4 and 5).

1 Philology

1.1 *Latin and Neo-Latin*

Zwingli placed great importance on learning ancient languages, both for himself and in the training of young scholars. He stressed that Latin, Greek and Hebrew were crucial for one's education and for studying the Bible: we see proof of this in his booklet *Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sint* from 1523. Although Latin is not required to understand the Old and New Testaments, it should not be neglected: "Even though it contributes less than Greek and Hebrew to our understanding of the Scriptures, it is valuable in other areas of life. We may have to defend Christ in the Latin language."¹ Zwingli himself was an excellent Latin scholar, capable of composing Latin hexameter² as in the following example taken from the title page of Johannes Reuchlin's (1455–1522) *Sergius* (no. 165):

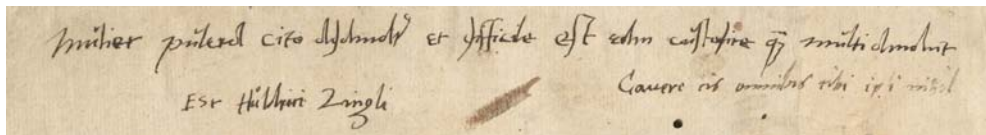
"Excitat ut catulos rugitu seva Leena
Sic nos dulcisonans vox tua amata fovet"

(Just as the wild lioness calls forth her cubs with a roar,
So does your beloved, sweet-sounding voice caress us).

The distich is dedicated to an unknown person with the initials "E E". We do not know if this was a woman. Another note on the front inside cover of Cicero's *Epistolae familiares* (no. 48) shows that Zwingli was well aware of the feelings which could be aroused in a man who desired a beautiful woman. He wrote: "Mulier pulcra cito adamatur et difficile est eam custodire, quam multi amant.

1 Z II, p. 542: "Nam et si ad sacrarum literarum intellectionem minus faciat, quam vel Graeca vel Hebraica, ad reliquum tamen vitae usum haud mediocriter proderit. Usu venit etiam aliquando, ut apud Latinos quoque Christi negotium agere cogamur."

2 Schindler (1988), Zwa 17, p. 492.



ILL. 3 Cicero: *Epistolarum familiarium libri*, Venice: Simone Bevilacqua, 1495 (see no. 48).
Note by Zwingli on the pastedown endpaper

Cavere eis omnibus, tibi ipsi nihil." (One can become fond of a beautiful woman very quickly and she can be difficult to keep because many love her. You yourself cannot safeguard against everybody) (ill. 3). Zwingli knew, what it meant to be lovesick. He underlined the following distich in his own copy of Ovid's "Heroides" (f. c₄v): "Me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis / Deficior prudens artis ab arte mea" (Alas, wretched me, that love may not be healed by herbs! Skilled in an art, I am left helpless by the very art I know).

As a priest in Glarus and Einsiedeln, Zwingli had several affairs with women, almost jeopardising his election as *Leutpriester* at the Zürich Grossmünster. Just previous to this election on 5th December 1518, he had unsparingly confessed his misdemeanours to the *Chorherr* Heinrich Utinger. He acknowledged, to his exoneration, that he had been careful never to violate a marriage, disgrace a virgin, nor desecrate a nun.³ In spite of this failing, Zwingli was in fact elected, as he was not seen as being unusual, but rather corresponded to the norms of priestly behaviour at that time.⁴ In Zürich, there seems to have been no further misconduct, a fact which has been ascribed to his conversion and the marriage with Anna Reinhart (ca. 1484–1538).⁵

In the aforementioned comedy *Sergius* Johannes Reuchlin satirised the cult of relics, so it is quite possible that this influenced Protestant criticism of the relic cult.⁶ Zwingli was also open to the poetry of other German humanists, such as Conrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales* or to the six now lost publications of the works of Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). There are also several other neo-Latin poems in his private library written by the Italian humanists Baptista Mantuanus (1447–1516), Hermolaus Barbarus (1454–1493), Filippo Beroaldo (1453–1505), Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) or Publius Faustus Andrelinus (1462–1518), a correspondent of Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose *Elegiae* had been studied in the theological faculties at Paris and

3 Z VII, pp. 110–113.

4 Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 303. Cf. Beirne (2012).

5 Secret wedding in 1522, public wedding in April 1524 (she was pregnant). Cf. Farner (1954), vol. 3, pp. 476–478.

6 Polleichtner (2017), pp. 122–125.

Louvain.⁷ Zwingli's interest in poetry, which has already been mentioned, is further evidenced by his acquisition of Heinrich Bebel's *Ars versificandi* as well as the *Ars versificatoria* by Robert Gaguin.

The basis of Zwingli's education was of course the study of classical Latin, in which he excelled. His various editions of the Classics prove how familiar he was with this literature. In his edition of Persius of 1505 (no. 145), we see that, even as an adult, he strove to perfect his Latin by making notes of unusual words or phrases.⁸ His Exegetica demonstrate that he had a profound knowledge of Latin and Greek classics. In these, he makes reference to Aristotle, Cato the Elder, Cicero, Demosthenes, Dio Cassius, Diodorus, Gellius, Herodotus, Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Lucian, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Pindar, Plato, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Porphyrius, Quintilian, Seneca, Suetonius, Terence, Ulpian, Valerius Maximus and Virgil.⁹

1.2 Greek

Zwingli had a lifelong fascination with Greek language and literature. Before taking office in Zürich he wrote to Heinrich Utiger on 5th of December 1518 that, day and night, he studied the Greek and Latin philosophers and theologians.¹⁰ As during the Zürich period, he felt drawn to the Greek writers, "because in no other Literature do I feel so comfortable".¹¹ It was Zwingli's conviction that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek is indispensable for biblical interpretation. He stated as much in his *Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sint*: "You cannot maintain your soul in better order than by meditating on the Word of God day and night. But this can only be done correctly if Hebrew and Greek are properly mastered because, without the one, the Old Testament cannot be really understood, and without the second, the New Testament cannot be correctly understood."¹²

⁷ Tournoy-Thoen (1985), pp. 53–56.

⁸ Schindler (1988), Zwa 17, p. 492.

⁹ Lienhard (1991), pp. 320–327; Künzli, in: Z XIV, p. 875.

¹⁰ Z VII, p. 111: "Non tam damnosam aleam ludit Zinlius, qui etiam corporis sensuum cum dispendio nocturna versare manu, versare diurna non cessat Grecorum Latinorumque et philosophos et theologos, qui quidem pertinax labor estus illos impudentes vel mitigat, si non extinguit."

¹¹ Letter from July 30, 1526(?) to an unknown person, Z VIII, p. 677: "... nullibi enim literarum libentius versor ...".

¹² Z II, p. 542: "Rectius autem animum componere non poterit, quam si verbum dei nocturna manu diurnaue verset. Id autem commode faciet, si linguas, Hebraicam et Graecam probe calleat, quod sine altera vetus instrumentum, sine altera novum pure capi difficulter possit."

Zwingli's first impulse to study Greek probably came from his tutor at the university of Basle, Thomas Wyttenbach (†1526) who taught his students that the Bible and the Church Fathers are the most reliable theological sources.¹³ Wyttenbach criticized the trade in indulgences early on¹⁴ and, in the *Amica exegesis* of 1527, Zwingli cited him as one of the people who had led him to his knowledge of the Gospel.¹⁵ It cannot be determined with exact certainty when Zwingli began studying Greek. The earliest traces of his efforts to learn ancient Greek can be found in his own copy of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola's *De rerum praenotione*, printed in 1506 (no. 148). Zwingli twice wrote Greek words painstakingly and in a novice's hand in the margins of the pages¹⁶ which demonstrates, that although he knew the phonetic value of the letters (ω is pronounced o), he was still an inexperienced beginner. On one margin for example, he noted γνοθι σαυτον instead of γνωθι σεαυτον (ill. 4).¹⁷ These first attempts at ancient Greek probably date from between 1510 and 1513¹⁸ because his handwriting in this book does not correspond to his early writing which was in evidence until about 1508/10.¹⁹ However, it also differs from that in books printed after 1513. Furthermore a letter from Glareanus to Zwingli dated 13th July 1510 states that he was already interested in Pico della Mirandola during that period, probably the younger Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola.²⁰ Zwingli had already studied the older Mirandola as a student in Basle, as his biographer Oswald Myconius reports.²¹

As early as 1510 Zwingli tried to acquire a Greek grammar (*Isagogen*) and wrote on this matter to Glareanus in Cologne, but Glareanus's advice was that

13 Usteri (1885), p. 620.

14 Lavater (2016), pp. 83–91.

15 z v, p. 718f.: "Fidem ergo cum explicares ac in pugna indulgentiarum semper aliquid clavibus incircumspectus donares, plurimum torquebas nos, ante annos aliquot a Thoma Vitembachio, viro et doctissimo et piissimo, iam superis quoque grato, preceptore nostro, doctum, solam Christi mortem precium esse remissionis peccatorum. Fides ergo clavis est, que menti scrinium remissionis peccatorum reserat; ..."

16 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: De morte Christi ..., in: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: De rerum praenotione ..., Strasbourg 1506, f. f_{6r} and f. t_{5v}. A further example of Zwingli's early Greek writing can be seen in: Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola: De providentia Dei ..., Strasbourg 1509, f. E_{4r}.

17 Γνωθι σεαυτόν means "know yourself" and was inscribed according to Pausanias (10,24,1) in the forecourt of the temple of Apollo in Delphi. Cf. Moore (2014).

18 Cf. Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 136: "... der Duktus der Handschrift der Randglossen lässt es als sicher erscheinen, dass Zwingli das Werk vor 1513 durchgearbeitet hat."

19 Schindler (1993), p. 188.

20 Glareanus wrote on July 13, 1510, from Cologne to Zwingli (z VII, p. 4): "De Pico autem Mirandulano iam nihil scribere ausim, aliis enim obruor negotiis."

21 Myconius (1979), p. 42.

SECUNDVS

CAPVT II.

phetarū fonte potasse: qd' certe multi sunt confessi praesertim Platonici, qui semp̃
 hebream disciplinā imitati sunt. Numenius philosophus putat nil aliud esse Pla- *Platonici hebraica*
 tonem q̃ Mosē attica lingua loquentē; Hermippus Pythagoricus attestatus est *imitatj disciplina*
 Pythagorā plurima in suā philosophiā de Moisaica lege transtulisse scribit peripa-
 theticus Clearcus in libro de somno Aristotelē ipsum a iudeo quodā multa didis-
 cisse celebratum illud dogma nosse sequēq̃; nōne (ut etiā in libris superioribus men-
 sibus a nobis editis de morte Christi & ppria cogitāda meminimus) ex Mosi Deu- *Υποδιδασκας*
 teronomio sumpsit exordium; quanq̃ & Chiloni & Thaleti oraculoq̃ Apollinis
 ascriptū est: Mitto qd' Eusebius/Augustinus/Ambrosius asserāt de accepta phi-
 losophorū turba ex ueteri testamēto sententijs: Quod etiā de nouo plurimi hanc
 ferint nō difficile esset probatu q̃n̄ Amelius ille Plotini discipulus quanq̃ inimici *Amelius*
 eius & infensibilis religioni christianae theologia loānis euagelistae sequi prorsus
 uidetur cū inquit: Atq̃ hoc erat illud uerbū per qd' ea q̃ facta sunt fiebant: Quom-
 tamen semp̃ essent. Quemadmodū Heraclitus uoluit: & per louē Barbarus ille cē-
 set in ordine dignitateq̃ principij cōstitutū apud deū esse & deū eē: & p̃ ipsum oia
 facta esse: & in ipso qd' factū est: uiuū & vitā & ens fuisse: Haeclle. Qui ueritatē li-
 cet inuitus negare nō potest eius: quē tanq̃ hostis Barbarū appellat (ut Bessarion
 ait) sententiā probat & accipit fidē: Sed si ad ipsam lectionē biblicae accesserimus aut
 auctoritates ad ostendendū quod uolumus nō desiderabimus: Quādo ibi cumulas-
 tissime deprehēdemus uberrimā nō solum doctrinā omnigenā: sed etiā eloquē-
 tia segetem: Et sane quanto id magis cōsidero: tanto mihi colliquescit apertius. Le- *colliquescit*
 gemus superioribus diebus forte per oīū tursulanā illā Ciceronis quaestione ubi
 maximo effert p̃conio uerba Aeschini aduersus Demosthenē inuehētis tanq̃
 magnā & uim & artē continerent eaq̃ diligenter examinauit: Nec multo post tem- *Laudis Ebrae*
 pore desumpti in manus Esaiā prophētā hebreo populo minantē: Nulla fere sumi-
 litudo: Adeo hic uehemens sublimis copiosus resonans/ terrorē incuties/ & uerā
 artem undiq̃ spirās: Quānā rogo cōparatio inter oratoria illa tela ipsius Aeschini-
 nis & Demosthenis aut alicuius alterius oratoris a fabulosa Graecia celebrati/ &
 hac nostri phetæ uerba: Audite celi/ auribus percipe terra: quoniam dñs locutus
 est: Filios enutritui & exaltaui/ ipsi autē spreuerūt me: Cognouit bos possessorem
 suum & asinus praesepe domini sui: Israel autē me nō cognouit: & populus meus
 nō intellexit: Vēgenti peccatrici/ populo graui iniquitate/ semini nequā/ filijs scele-
 ratis: Dereliquerūt dñm/ blasphemauerunt sanctū Israel: Abalienati sunt retrorsū
 sum/ sup̃ quo percuti uos & quae sequuntur. Illudq̃ potissimū admirandū totum
 uetus instrumentū cum aliqua parte noui ex hebreo in grēcum in latinumq̃ ser-
 monem uersum eloquentiam (quae in propria lingua summa ei inest) nō perdidit
 se etiam in peregrina: Et cum apud nos rudis potius q̃ eloquens oratio eius uidet-
 atur uim persuadendi maximā obtinuerit: non mouent non persuadent sacrae li-
 terae (ut scribit Ioānes Pictus patruus ad Hermolaū: Sed cogit agitant/ uim inferūt
 legis rudia uerba & agrestia: Sed uiua/ sed aiata flāmea aculeata/ ad imū spiritum
 penetrantia hoiem totū potestate mirabili transformantia. Dignū autē animauerit
 sione est Augustino auctore q̃ sicut quaedā est eloquentia quae magis atate iuue-
 nilem decet, est etiā quae senile: Nec iā dicenda est eloquentia si p̃sona non cōgruat
 eloquentijs: ita est quae uiros summa auctoritate dignissimos planeq̃ diuinos decet:
 & hac scriptores illos biblicē loquutos ait nec ipsos decuisse alia nec alios ipsa. Eisdē
 auctoribus ubi ipsos intelligit nihil nō modo sapiētius/ sed nec eloquentius uidet
 sibi asserit: Neq̃ artē ullam dicendi eosdem affectasse: sed sapientiam ipsam de do-
 mo sua/ id est de pectore sapientis procedentem tanquam inseparabilem famulā
 f vi

an edition from Basle would be superior to one from Cologne.²² It is certain that by the time Zwingli wrote to Vadian on 23rd February 1513, he had already embarked on his study of Greek: "Even though I am a poor Latin scholar, I have begun to study Greek. Therefore give me some good advice, so that my wish is not in vain. What should I read after Chrysoloras' Grammar? I am so resolved in my intention to study Greek, no-one but God could dissuade me from this course. I do not care about glory, only about the study of the Holy Scriptures."²³

We know that Zwingli used the grammar book by the Byzantine diplomat Manuel Chrysolaras (1355–1415) but unfortunately his personal copy is lost. As well as this, he also used the grammars of Constantinus Lascaris (1434–1501), Urbano Bolzanio (1442–1524), Hieronymus Aleander (1480–1542) and Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531). Zwingli seems to have acquired his knowledge of Greek largely autodidactically. He only had tuition in 1517/18 with the Greek scholar Paulus Bombasius (1476–1527) from Bologna who was, during that period, in Zürich and Einsiedeln in the service of Cardinal Schiner and Nuntius Antonio Pucci (1485–1544).²⁴ Over the years Zwingli attained a high level of Greek, knowledgeable in both language and literature as evidenced by the surviving (and lost) Greek editions of Bibles, the Classics and the Church Fathers.

Barely arrived in Zürich, Zwingli founded a Greek reading circle which was approved by the Probst of the Grossmünster²⁵ Albert Bürer²⁶ from Brugg. On 24th April 1519, famulus of Beatus Rhenanus, wrote in the summer of 1520 to Rhenanus that after staying with his parents in Brugg, he made a trip to Zürich. In Höngg he paid a visit to their old friend Pastor Simon Stumpf. The following day they went together to Zürich. First he was taken to hear Zwingli teaching Greek. Among Zwingli's Greek students were Simon Stumpf, his predecessor as Pastor in Höngg, Nicolaus Bavarus (Peier), the schoolmaster Georg Binder, *Chorherr* Heinrich Nüscheler and the monk Heinrich Buchter. This *Sodalitas literaria Tigurinense* had immediately invited him to take dinner with them. Bürer wrote that he could enumerate further names of people who would be very

22 Letter from Glareanus to Zwingli, July 13, 1510: Z VII, p. 3.

23 Z VII, p. 22: "Grece, Latine ignarus, animum aplicui. Quare boni consule, ne oleum laborque pereant; et in manus post Chrisolore Isagogen quid sumendum? Ita enim Graecis studere destinavi, ut qui me preter Deum amoveat, nesciam, non glorie (quam nulli in rebus querere honeste possem), sed sacratissimarum litterarum ergo."

24 Cf. Z VII, p. 75. Conrad Brunner in Basle wrote on March 1518 to Bruno Amerbach, that Zwingli said, that Bombasius helped him very much to learn Greek, in: AK 2, p. 110: "Ait se a Bombasio multum iuvari in Grecis atque ad hec comparanda eius consilio inductum."

25 Letter from Zwingli to Rhenanus, April 24, 1519, Z VII, p. 181.

26 Cf. Hilgert (1971), p. 163f.

eager to learn Greek.²⁷ Depending on how quick they were to learn, some would make good progress, others less so. One of Zwingli's Greek students was the later Anabaptist leader Conrad Grebel (about 1498–1526), who wrote to Myconius on 4th November 1521: "All is well with Zwingli and your friends. Zwingli, Tschudi, Ammann and I are reading Plato."²⁸ When I am alone, however, if there is leisure to reflect on something at any time during a whole month, I interpret some Greek epigram and turn it into verse (I nearly said curse)."²⁹

Unfortunately we do not know much about the reading material in Zwingli's Greek circle. On June 7th 1519 he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus in Basle that he should ensure that the first book of Aristotle's *De animalibus* or a dialogue by Lucian were printed in Greek so that he could read the works with his students. Sadly, his wish was not fulfilled. Zwingli worked diligently through his personal copy of Aristotle, furnishing it with copious glosses (no. 9), but it cannot be ascertained whether he ever studied it with his students.³⁰ Even the question, whether he has ever studied Lucian in this circle, must remain open. Zwingli only seems to have received his Greek Lucian (no. 126) not before May 1520,³¹ but he must have already had a copy because, in a letter dated from 2nd April 1520, Nicolaus Hageus from Solothurn thanked him for kindling his love of Greek literature, not least through the works of Lucian (cf. no. A 116).³²

Plutarch seems to have featured as well as Aristotle and Lucian, for we have various indications that Zwingli may have prepared certain texts in his Greek Plutarch edition (no. 157) to use in his Greek course, by making notes in the margin on the *variae lectiones* from the Latin Plutarch editions of Erasmus of Rotterdam (no. 156³³). Zwingli translated Erasmus' Latin terms back into Greek.³⁴ It is also significant that Zwingli's handwriting changes within this volume. There are annotations from before and after July 1519. It would appear then that he used this Greek Plutarch edition as study material for his Greek circle in 1519, after he began preaching in Zürich.

27 Letter from Bürer to Rhenanus, in: Horawitz and Hartfelder (1886), p. 240 f.; Hilgert (1971), pp. 141–169, especially p. 163 f.

28 In the latin original: "platonisamus". The word must not mean, that they read Plato, but that they read Greek texts ("Plato" as *pars pro toto* of the Greek literature).

29 Harder (1985), p. 157.

30 Z VII, p. 181.

31 Letter from Valentin Curio to Zwingli, May 16, 1520, in: Z VII, p. 313.

32 Z VII, p. 296.

33 It concerns Plutarch's *Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere* at the end of the imprint.

34 See for example: Plutarch, *Opuscula*, Venice 1509 (no. 155), p. 45 f., 107, 116 and 510.

Zwingli's love of Greek language and literature, as well as his efforts to propagate the same, seem to have been well known in learned Swiss circles. For this reason, the Basle printer Valentin Curio (ca. 1500–1533) dedicated the Greek grammar by Jacobus Ceperinus (1500–1525) to Zwingli. Curio writes that Zwingli seems the obvious candidate for the dedication, as the patron of Greek studies in Zürich.³⁵

It is worth noting Zwingli's attachment to the Greek poet, Pindar (522/518–446 BC). The professor for Greek literature in Zürich, Jacobus Ceperinus (Wiesendanger), prepared an edition of Pindar, the first one north of the Alps to include the *Epinician Odes*.³⁶ Ceperinus asked Zwingli to write a preface for this work. Sadly, the young scholar died at the end of 1525 but Zwingli nonetheless wrote an introduction on March 26th 1526, further contributing an afterword and an obituary for Ceperinus on March 1st.³⁷ Zwingli praises Pindar's style. He stresses that there are no offensive or lascivious passages to be found in this poet's work and that everything by him is erudite and elegant. In addition, the Reformer noted in his work similar rustic elements as are found in the Old Testament.³⁸ Just as Pindar speaks of many gods but knows there is really only one God, so the Hebrew language uses the plural Elohim for God, meaning by this the only one God. Just as the Hebrews wrote of the Glory of the Lord as *pars pro toto* for the Lord, so the Greeks wrote of the strengths of Hercules, meaning by this Hercules himself. In Hebrew, Jerusalem is said to be the daughter of Zion; in a similar way, Pindar turned all cities into daughters or nymphs. Thus Pindar's style could contribute towards a better understanding of the Old Testament, particularly of the Book of Job and the Psalms.³⁹

Here, we must also recall the performance of Aristophanes' comedy *Πλοῦτος* in the original language for which Zwingli wrote the music. Book VI of Homer's *Odyssey* was also performed alongside the Aristophanes in the *Lectorium* of the Grossmünster. Rudolf Collinus (1499–1578), the classical philologist, praised Zürich as the new Athens in his Latin prologue to the play, referring to it as a centre for the cultivation of Greek. This was ultimately Zwingli's achievement: he himself was present and was apparently moved to tears by the performance.⁴⁰ It is surely not a coincidence that Zwingli's own family Bible was

35 Z VII, p. 651f.

36 Riedweg (2000), p. 211f.

37 Fehr (1942).

38 Cf. Köhler (1931a), p. 71f.

39 Zwingli's text is edited in: Z IV, pp. 863–879.

40 Riedweg (2000), p. 218.

not in German but in Greek (no. 26). He would not have read out loud from this Bible to his family but it was in this book that he recorded the births of his children.⁴¹

1.3 *Hebrew*

Zwingli learned Hebrew in three phases. His first efforts date from his Einsiedeln period, because his own personal copy of the *Rudimenta hebraica* (no. 164) by Reuchlin has handwritten annotations from before and after July 1519. During his time in Einsiedeln, he also acquired the volume which today has the shelf number Ink K 350, as the front cover evinces handwritten remarks by Zwingli which can be dated to before July 1519.⁴² The work contains Hebrew-Latin Marian prayers of the Jewish Hebrew scholar Mattäus Adriani (about 1475–1521, no. 1), a Hebrew textbook by the German Hebraist Johannes Böschenstein (1472–1540, no. 35) and shorter works (*Opuscula*) of the French Humanist François Tissard (1460–1508, no. 182) which also includes the first Hebrew grammar printed in France.

After Zwingli had installed himself in Zürich, he wished to learn Hebrew again and on July 24th 1520 wrote to Myconius: “I am determined to take up Hebrew again in the next few days because, Christ permitting, I would like to read the Psalms with some beginners this coming December and next Lent. So tell Xyloctetus to return Reuchlin’s *Rudimenta* to me within a month.”⁴³ Due to the demands made on his time, Zwingli was not able to carry out his intentions and had to make a renewed effort to learn the language in 1522 because it was his firm conviction that the Old Testament could not be properly understood without an exact knowledge of Hebrew.⁴⁴ On 25th May 1522 he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: “If you send greetings to Pellikan, tell him I have resumed my Hebrew studies. Goodness me! What an unpleasant and miserable task. But I will not let up until I see the fruits of my labour.”⁴⁵

41 The latin notes concerning Zwingli’s family are published in: Farner (1916).

42 Egli (1901), pp. 153–158.

43 Z VII, p. 345: “Statui proximis diebus in manus resumere literas Hebraicas; nam futuro Decembri et futura Quadragesima, si Christus velit, psalmos praelegam rudioribus quibusdam; unde admones Xyloctetum, ut rudimenta Capnionica remittat intra mensis spacium.”

44 Künzli, in: Z XIV, pp. 878–881. Cf. also Zwingli’s preface to his commentary on Isaiah, where he also speaks about the Hebrew language, in: Z XIV, pp. 85–103.

45 Z VII, p. 497: “Pelicano, posteaquam salutaveris, refer, orsum nos esse Hebraicas literas. Dii boni, quam illepidum ac triste studium! Nec tamen desistam, donec ad aliquam frugem penetrem.”

In the same year 1522 Johannes Böschenstein (1472–1540) who is regarded as one of the pioneers of Christian Hebrew studies and had been a professor in Wittenberg,⁴⁶ came to Zürich⁴⁷ (ill. 5). Heinrich Bullinger tells us in his history of the Reformation that Zwingli and the later Anabaptist leader Felix Manz (c. 1498–1527) learned Hebrew from him, mistaking Böschenstein's Christian name: "During these years, Andreas Böschenstein came to Zürich. He was a Hebrew expert and wrote one of the first Hebrew grammars. Zwingli and others from Zürich, such as Felix Mantz, who had intensively studied the language with Zwingli, requested that Böschenstein teach them Hebrew. Zwingli made such good progress in this, that he was able to read the Hebrew Bible."⁴⁸

After Böschenstein's departure from Zürich, Zwingli continued to study Hebrew with Jacobus Ceperinus who had been in Zürich since the Fall of 1522.⁴⁹ There was a rumour that Zwingli had learnt Hebrew from a Jew in Winterthur and had adopted certain theological ideas from this man, but there was no truth in this. Zwingli had once conducted a discussion in the presence of ten scholars with a Jew named Moshe from Winterthur on the subject of the promises contained in the Old Testament and this same Moshe also attended two lectures in Zürich on the Hebrew Bible to see how the Hebrew Scriptures were examined there, but Zwingli had neither learned Hebrew, nor had he adopted exegetical views from him.⁵⁰

Zwingli's efforts yielded results because he quickly had so much skill in Hebrew that, during the first Zürich Disputation of January 29th 1523, he was able to make use of a Hebrew Bible, possibly the missing fourth edition of the so-called Rabbinic Bible from Venice (no. A 16).⁵¹ He also added Johannes Reuchlin's *De accentibus* (no. 166), Sebastian Münster's *Dictionarium hebraicum* (no. 137) and Elias Levita's *Grammatica hebraica* (no. 67) to his private library.

46 Bauch (1904).

47 Graf (2012), pp. 119–122.

48 Bullinger (1838), p. 30: "Diser jaren kamm gen Zuerich Andreas Boeschenstein, wol bericht der hebraischen spraach, alls von deren er ein grammaticam, under den ersten diser spraach lereren, gemacht, und sy offentlich profitiert. Disen Boeschenstein namm ouch Zwingij an zum Leermeister, wie ouch andere Zuerycher, insonders Felix Mantz, welcher sich vil in dieser sprach mit Zwinglj uept. In etwas zyts aber begab es sich, das Zwinglj so vil darinn zuenamm, das er die Bibel hebraisch brucht ..."

49 Riedweg (2000): p. 206.

50 Cf. Henrich (2006).

51 Künzli, in: Z XIV, p. 879.



ILL. 5

New Testament (Greek), Basle: Johann Froben, 1516, owned by Zwingli's Hebrew teacher Johannes Böschenstein with the decalogue written in Böschenstein's hand (Schweizerischen Landesmuseum Zürich, call number: LM-111798)

2 Theology

2.1 *Scholasticism*

Looking around in Zwingli's library there are above all two texts which recall the everyday pre-Reformation life of the former priest. Zwingli asked his friend Glareanus in Cologne which relics were to be found there. Glareanus answered him in the second half of 1507 by sending him a printed legend of St. Ursula (no. 100, ill. 6), pointing out that it was unfortunately not possible for him to find an inventory of all the relics located there. Glareanus went on to say that it was not in fact Ursula's shrine which was the most important in Cologne, but that of the three Holy Kings.⁵² Even over a decade later, legends of the saints were still the subject of correspondence between the two men. During his time in Paris Glareanus wrote an historical account of the legend of the patron saints of Zürich, Felix, Regula and Exuperantius. He informed Zwingli in a letter of 15th May 1519 that he had forwarded the manuscript of this to him.⁵³ In a subsequent letter, Glareanus wrote that he had dedicated the work to the Probst Felix Frei, to the professors of the *Lectorium* and to Huldrych Zwingli. The manuscript was however never actually printed and is lost today (no. A 223). It was still extant in the 17th century and was published by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667).⁵⁴

The second text referencing Zwingli's everyday life as a priest is his *Breviarium Constantiense* (no. 36) containing the Psalms. According to the Roman breviary, 150 Psalms were prayed in a certain pattern every week. Zwingli used his *Breviarium* not only as a devotional work, but also for studying the Psalter, comparing the text with other editions such as the *Psalterium quincuplex* by Faber Stapulensis (no. 28).⁵⁵

The other still extant theological texts from Zwingli's period as a Catholic priest document his interest in the scholastic theology of the Scotists,⁵⁶ beginning with the commentary by Johannes Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) on the *Sententiae* by Petrus Lombardus (c. 1100–1160) (no. 63), which he read and annotated between 1509 and 1514.⁵⁷ As well as this work, Zwingli studied various texts by the Scotist Stephen Brulefer (†1496/99) in which he made sundry

⁵² Muralt (1936), pp. 336–339; Z VI/5, p. 438f.

⁵³ Z VII, p. 169.

⁵⁴ Hottinger (1666), pp. 1061–1077.

⁵⁵ Cf. Z XII, p. 160.

⁵⁶ Goeters (1969), p. 261; Schindler (1993), p. 188f.

⁵⁷ The handwritten annotations are edited in: Bolliger (2003), pp. 527–641.

notes, particularly in the first half of volume one (no. 172).⁵⁸ The *Quaestiones magistrales in ... Scoti volumes* by John de Colonia (†1480; no. 111) also treats aspects of Scotism. He read Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274, no. 181) and Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280, no. 3) as exponents of the main scholastic period and the dogmatist Paolus Cortesius (1465–1510) who represents late scholasticism (no. 56). The *Liber de muliere forti* by Albertus Magnus contains an allegorical interpretation of Proverbs 31:10–31 where the industrious woman is praised. In a marginal note Zwingli reveals that the Glarner people are cheerful and like to laugh: “Est risus potestatis glaronensis”.⁵⁹ Despite Zwingli's at times very intense reading of scholastic theologians, he later, like Luther, dissociated himself from them and in a letter of 25th March 1519 to Beatus Rhenanus he referred to Duns Scotus, Brulefer and other Catholic theologians as geese in comparison to the the swans Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Wolfgang Capito and Johannes Reuchlin.⁶⁰

2.2 *Pico della Mirandola*

In his biography of Huldrych Zwingli from 1532, Oswald Myconius writes that the Reformer was already interested in the *Conclusiones DCCCC publice disputandae* by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) years previously in 1505, towards the end of his period in Basle, causing Pico to be suspected of heresy.⁶¹ Pico tried to prove that the different religions are based on a common foundation. Five years later, the Italian humanist features in Zwingli's correspondence once more. Zwingli had evidently turned to his friend Glareanus, at that time in Cologne, on a matter concerning Pico. Glareanus wrote to Zwingli on 13th July 1510: “I will not write any further about Pico della Mirandola, as I am burdened with other business.”⁶² Zwingli's interest in Pico should not be overrated: even the public notary and mayor of Freiburg i. Ue. Peter Falck (1468–1519) owned works by him⁶³ and Vadian, the St. Gallen physician and reformer had in his collection his *Hymni heroici*, the *Physici libri duo* as well as further works by Pico.⁶⁴

58 The handwritten annotations are edited in: Bolliger (2003), pp. 527–641.

59 Albertus Magnus: *Liber de muliere forti*, Cologne 1499, f. p1r (no. 3).

60 Z VII, p. 158. Zwingli took this phrase of geese among swans probably from the dictionary written by Perottus (cf. no. A 175; see: Nicolaus Perottus: *Cornucopiae*, Venice 1513, s. v. anseres: “anseris inter olores strepere”).

61 Myconius (1979), p. 44.

62 Z VII, p. 4: “De Pico autem Mirandulano iam nihil scribere ausim, aliis enim obruor negotiis.”

63 Dahhaoui (2017), p. 69f.

64 Schenker-Frei (1974), p. 53 and 245.

During his time in Glarus, Zwingli acquired the *Opera* by Pico, printed in 1504 (no. 147). In at least two instances he refers to Johannes Damascenus⁶⁵ whose works he owned in an edition of 1507 (no. 107). His reading of Pico then cannot have been before 1507 and can be dated, using paleography, to the years after the first striking change in his handwriting which took place between 1508 and 1510.⁶⁶ Zwingli annotated the first half of the volume intensively: this section includes the titles *Heptaplus*, *Deprecatoria ad Deum*, *Apologia*,⁶⁷ *De ente et uno*, *Oratio [de dignitate hominis]*⁶⁸ and the *Epistolae*. The *Heptaplus* and *Apologia* are the titles which were annotated most profusely by Zwingli. The *Heptaplus*, an allegorical interpretation of Genesis 1:1–27, was interesting for him on account of Pico's stylistic analysis of the Holy Scriptures, anti-Gnostic polemics and for the relationship between theology and philosophy. When reading the *Apologia*, Zwingli showed intense interest in questions of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper.⁶⁹ Commenting on a statement of Pico in the *Epistolae* (f. 106r) that a thing often fails due to a lack of clear articulation, Zwingli recounted an anecdote in the margin from his student days which supplies us with the earliest information about his father: "This also happened to me when I sent a message home. I wanted to give my father an insight into my life and into my studies abroad and I told him about music and the instruments which I played with other musicians. But my father said: 'I would rather have a philosopher than a performer.'" ⁷⁰

Zwingli was interested not only in the older Pico but also in his nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1469–1533) whom he studied roughly during the same period in Glarus between 1508/10 and 1513. Zwingli heavily annotated the following writings by Pico: *De morte Christi et propria cogitanda libri tres*, *De studio divinae et humanae philosophia libri duo*, *De imaginatione*, *Liber de vita Io. Pici patruī, eiusdem de uno et ente defensio*, *De fide et ordine credendi theorematā*, *De providentia dei* as well as Pico's Latin translation of the

65 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: *Opera*, Strasbourg 1504, f. 35v and f. 42v (no. 147).

66 Schindler (1993), p. 188. Oskar Farner argued, that Zwingli made the annotations according to the character of his handwriting before 1513. Vgl. Farner (1946), vol. 2, p. 136.

67 Zwingli refers to this work in a marginal note to the *Apologeticus liber* by Gregorius Nazianzenus (no. 96, f. d₃r).

68 Cf. Zwingli refers several times to *De dignitate hominis* in his *De providentia Dei* (1530), in: z v1/3, p. 111, 115 f. and 195.

69 Backus (1991), pp. 293–299; Schindler (1993), p. 192.

70 Zwingli wrote in latin: "Quod et mihi nunciolum patriam mittenti obtigit. Qui quum gentiori vitam, mores, studium commendare interesset meam ultimo musicam atque instrumenta cum convivationibus connumerabat. At pater: mallet ego philosophum quam mimum." Cf. Köhler, no. 259.

*Liber ad gentes*⁷¹ written by Justin Martyr and the first part of the *Hymni heroici*. It was during his reading of Pico's *De morte Christi et propria cogitanda* that Zwingli may have first encountered Girolamo Savonarola's name (1452–1498), the Florentine pre-reformer for whose side the younger Pico had declared and in whom in this text, he praised. Zwingli noted in the margin: *Savonarole laus*.⁷² We can deduce the pre-reformational influence of the Italian humanist on the Glarner theologian from Zwingli's intensive study of Pico's *De morte Christi et propria cogitanda* and the *Theoremata de fide et ordine credendi*.⁷³

Like the older Pico, the younger also wrote in his *De providentia Dei* that the divine is inherent in all religions and world views. Even in the writings of Epicurus there is an awareness of God.⁷⁴ Zwingli once again encountered, in the *Quaestio de salvatione Aristotelis* by the Dutch scholastic Lambertus de Monte Domini (1430 /5–1499),⁷⁵ the idea that even the ancient pagans were capable of recognising God. Glareanus gave this work to Zwingli as a present around 1511 (no. 118).⁷⁶ Zwingli himself ultimately held the view that converted Gentiles and Christians would all be in Heaven,⁷⁷ as he put it in his *Christianae fidei expositio* (printed in 1536) to the French King Francis I: "Then you must hope that you will meet the community and share the company of all the saints, the wise, the faithful, the steadfast, the brave and all those good souls who have lived since the creation of the world. Here you will meet both Adams, the redeemed and the redeemer, also Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Pinehas, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, and the Virgin Mary whom the prophets foretold, David, Hezekiah, and John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonius, Numa, Camillus, the Catons, the Scipios, Louis the Pious, and your predecessors Louis, Philip and Pippin and all other ancestors who believed in God and who have now passed away."⁷⁸

71 The correct title is "Exhortatio ad Graecos" or "Cohortatio ad Graecos".

72 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: *De studio divinae et humanae philosophiae libri duo*, in: no. 148, f. f₄r.

73 Schindler (1989), Zwa 18 (1989), p. 6.

74 Usteri (1885), p. 638f.

75 Roelli and von Moos (2014).

76 Letter without date from Glareanus to Zwingli, in: Z VII, p. 14.

77 Pfister (1952).

78 Huldrych Zwingli: *Erklärung des christlichen Glaubens*, in: ZS, vol. 4, p. 340.

2.3 *Erasmus of Rotterdam*

Following on from Zwingli's Pico phase which, as we have seen, should not be overstated, we see that he discovered Erasmus of Rotterdam.⁷⁹ In Zwingli's private library one finds mention of sixteen remaining and eight now lost titles by Erasmus which he owned: this was augmented by the second edition of the *NT graece* of 1519 (no. 32) as well as other texts of the Classics and the Church Fathers, such as the famous edition of Jerome's works of 1516 (no. 98). Zwingli's earliest literary encounter with Erasmus probably took place in 1514/15 when he worked in Glarus as Leutpriester. Zwingli himself writes about this in his *Ußlegen und gründ der schlußreden oder Articklen* of 1523: "Eight or nine years ago I read a helpful poem by the greatly learned Erasmus of Rotterdam which he put into the mouth of our Lord Jesus. In it, Jesus laments at length and in very clear tones, the fact that we do not seek all good things and all blessings from him, although he himself is the source of all goodness and blessings, the Saviour, our refuge and the treasure of our soul. Then I thought: this is really true; why do we still seek help from created beings? And although, in the works of Erasmus, I found other *carmina* or songs addressed to St. Anna, St. Michael and to others, where the addressee has the role of an interceder, this could not divert me from the knowledge that Christ alone is the treasure of our poor soul. Then I began to study the Bible and the Church Fathers to ascertain whether they taught the intercession of saints in an unequivocal way. To summarise: I found nothing at all on this matter in the Bible. In the writings of the Church Fathers I found occasional references, but not in all of them. I remained unimpressed by the teaching on the intercession of the saints because I was not presented with biblical proof. And when I referred to the original texts of the Scriptures which had been twisted to suit their purposes, I did not find the meaning they intended. And the more I investigated this dogma or doctrine, the less evidence I found for it in Scripture. But I found more and more biblical passages against it."⁸⁰

79 Cf. Schindler (1989), Zwa 18, pp. 9–11; concerning Erasmus and Pico, see: Seidel Menchi (2016), pp. 127–139.

80 Huldrych Zwingli: *Auslegung und Begründung der Thesen oder Artikel 1523*, in: ZS, vol. 2, p. 254f.: "Vor acht oder neun Jahren las ich ein hilfreiches Gedicht des hochgelehrten Erasmus von Rotterdam, das er dem Herrn Jesus in den Mund legte. Darin klagt Jesus in vielen und sehr klaren Worten, dass man nicht alles Gute bei ihm suche, obwohl er doch der Quell alles Guten, der Retter, die Zuflucht und der Schatz der Seele sei. Da dachte ich: Es verhält sich tatsächlich so; warum suchen wir dann noch Hilfe bei den Geschöpfen? Und obschon ich daneben bei dem erwähnten Erasmus auch andere 'carmina' oder Gesänge fand, die an die heilige Anna, den heiligen Michael und andere gerichtet waren, und in denen er die Angesprochenen als Fürsprecher anruft, konnte mich dies doch nicht von der Erkenntnis abbringen, dass Christus der einzige Schatz unserer armen Seele sei. Nun

Thus Erasmus taught Zwingli to study the Bible and the Church Fathers. Erasmus' own translation of the Pauline Epistles from the Greek New Testament, published in Basle in 1516 and which erupted upon the world like a bomb, was of enduring importance to Zwingli.⁸¹ The study of God's Word in its original language began to open Zwingli's eyes to the Gospel,⁸² as he recalled in the treatise *Amica exegesis* published on 28th February 1527: "I testify for myself before God, that I have understood the power and the embodiment of the Gospel by reading the writings of John and Augustine, and in particular through the careful study of Paul's Greek letters, which I copied with my own hand eleven years ago⁸³ while you (Luther) led the regiment for a mere eight years."⁸⁴

Zwingli also read other works by Erasmus as he himself wrote to the humanist scholar after he had visited Erasmus in Basle in the spring of 1516:⁸⁵ "... that when I read your work, I feel I am listening to your voice and I can see you in your small but elegant body moving most elegantly. For you are, without flattery, my beloved—if I have not communed with you I cannot sleep."⁸⁶

The majority of handwritten annotations were added by Zwingli in his own copies of the *Enchiridion militis christiani* and in the *Adagia*,⁸⁷ both from 1515.

begann ich erst recht die Schriften der Bibel und der Kirchenväter zu studieren, ob ich von ihnen zuverlässig über die Fürbitte der Seligen unterrichtet würde. Um es kurz zu machen: Ich fand darüber in der Bibel gar nichts, bei den Alten fand ich bei einigen etwas, bei den anderen nichts. Doch beeindruckte mich wenig, wenn sie auch die Fürbitte der Seligen lehrten; denn sie blieben mir stets die biblischen Belegstellen schuldig. Und wenn ich dann die Schrift, die sie in ihrem Sinn zurechtbogen, in ihrem Urtext studierte, so hatte sie nicht den Sinn, den sie ihr abgewinnen wollten. Und je mehr ich auf dieses Dogma oder diese Lehre achtete, desto weniger fand ich dafür Belegstellen in der Schrift. Wohl aber fand ich immer mehr Schriftworte dagegen."

81 Cf. Ueli Dill and Petra Schierl (2016).

82 Zwingli knew the Greek Pauline epistles by heart. Vgl. Gottfried W. Locher: Zwingli und Erasmus, in: Zwa 13 (1969), p. 44.

83 Zwingli's autograph is preserved in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich (Signatur: RP 15) and it is digitized: www.e-manuscripta.ch/zuz/content/titleinfo/1172950.

84 Georg Finsler et al. (1918), p. 694: "Denn von mir selbst bezeuge ich vor Gott, ich habe die Kraft und den Inbegriff des Evangeliums aus der Lektüre der Schriften des Johannes und Augustin gelernt, besonders aus sorgfältigem Studium der griechischen Briefe des Paulus, die ich mit eigener Hand vor elf Jahren abgeschrieben habe, während Du [Luther] erst acht Jahre das Regiment führst." Cf. z v, p. 713 f. and p. 816.

85 Goeters (1969), p. 265.

86 Zwingli wrote to Erasmus, April 29, 1516, in: z VII, p. 36: "... ut te, ubi tua legimus, loquentem audire et corpusculo tuo minuto, verum minime inconcinno, urbanissime gestientem videre videar. Nam et (verbo absit invidia!) tu nobis amasius ille es, cui ni confabulatus, somnum non capimus."

87 Zwingli annotated also the works of Saint Jerome, edited by Erasmus, here and there quite intensely. Cf. Leu (2007a), pp. 167–175.

The different coloured red and brown inks of the marginalia in the *Adagia* are evidence that he did not read the work all in one sitting but repeatedly used and studied the book. The annotations suggest that he had read the work before the summer of 1519⁸⁸ and had enjoyed it. He came to appreciate Erasmus, less as a theologian,⁸⁹ and more as an intellectual humanist giant and outstanding philologist, with whom he at times held a dialogue, perhaps even a conversation. Not only did Zwingli in his annotations make reference to the ancient classics and to the Church Fathers, which his library contained, but he also gives us insights into his everyday life and into his surrounding environment whose moral condition was in his eyes deficient.

Writing about the *Adagium* “Lex est regio”, Erasmus tells us that the ancient Persians occasionally engaged in political proceedings in a state of intoxication. This agitated Zwingli and he commented in the margin that this pertained not only to the Persians, but to the Swiss as well, who apparently also exhibited similar behaviour which can only be described as scandalous: although, for him, the greater portion of blame lay with the young people’s drinking habits and not with those of the older men.⁹⁰

Looking at another proverb or *Adagium*, Erasmus expands on the term “ferre iugum” (to wear the yoke). He notes that “wearing the yoke” in antiquity was also a term for the state of marriage or sexual intercourse, hence marriage is also described as a condition of being in the yoke (*coniugium*). In the margin (ill. 7), Zwingli recalls the coarse sermon of a priest, perhaps referring to the moral state of monks, and wrote on the matter: “Here it is permissible to cite the folly of a certain priest whose simple mind we can only laugh at: preaching on sexual intercourse within marriage, he described the manner of lying on top and lying underneath, both with words and with hand gestures. ‘After all’, he said, ‘one must not slack on the job, just like two muscular woodcutters working with a plane or a saw on a tremendous tree trunk: they push and pull vigorously until they sweat.’”⁹¹

88 Zwingli changed his handwriting twice. The second time can be determined on July 1519. Cf. Schindler (1984), p. 31.

89 Cf. Kohls (1966).

90 Erasmus of Rotterdam: *Adagia*, Basle 1515, p. 517 (no. 71): “Nam Persarum mos est, ut inter pocula temulenti consultant ac reges suos pro numine adorant”. And Zwingli added: “et Helvetiorum pudor! non quidem ex veterum more, sed iuniorum incontinentia”.

91 Ibid., p. 67: “huc adscribere licet sacerdotis cuiusdam ignaviam ob simplicitatem ridendam, qui de actu matrimonii dum concionaretur, modum incubitus succubitusque verbo et manu depinxisset, tandem, inquit, nulla fiat ab opere cessatio veluti cum lacertosi lignisece runcina vel serra ingentem truncum dividunt, fortiter robusteque abstrudunt, adtrahunt, sudant.” (Z XII, p. 257).

CENTVRIA SECVNDA:

Ferre iugum.

Plautus in Curculione iam ne fert iugum: De puella pcutat q̄spia, num iā p̄tate urū reci-
peret. Id em̄ significat facis arguit ea, quæ sequunt, Tā a me pudica est, q̄si foror mea sit. Ho-
ratus in Odis, de puella nōdū uiro matura, nōdū subacta ferre iugū ualet ceruice, uidelicet in-
dicis, unde ducta sit trālatio, nimirū a iuueno, cui nōdū suppetit uires, ut in ducēdo aratro
pares opis uices sustineat. Nā & coitus duorū ex æquo negociū est, iudē ut in iugo. Vnde di-
ctum etiam coniugium.

Feli Crocoton.

raciā κροκότην, id est Feli Crocoton. Subaudiendū, das aut, addis. Dici solitū, quoties honos
addit indignis, & quos haudquāq̄ decet. Aut cū dat quippiā ijs, q̄ munere nō norit uti, Ve-
luti si quis a musis alienissimō bellissimū donaret librū. Crocoton uestis genus est rotundæ ac
fimbriatæ, q̄ diuites utebant matronæ. Apud Noniū in dictiōe, Richa, refert inter uestes de-
licatas, & Crocoton. Sic em̄ arbitror legedū mollicinā Crocotam, chirodotā richam. Ac teste
Plutarcho quidā Herculem pingebāt κροκότορον, Omphale seruientē. Sumptū adagiū ab
apologo Stratis, quæ alio loco narrauius. Porro uox hæc raciā selem ne significet, an mu-
stela, an quæ uulgo Catū appellant, quoniam inter cruditos controuersum esse uidco, relin-
quo alijs iudicādū.

Mustela habes.

raciā ὄρεον, id est, Mustela habes. In eū q̄drat, cui omnia sunt inauspicata, tāq̄ satis, ac Dīs ira-
tis, ut ait. Olim creditū est, hoc aial inauspicatū, inauspicū esse, ijs q̄ haberet. domiq̄ alerent,
ut nō admodū distinet ab illis, equū habet Scianū, & aurū habet T olofanū. Vnde nūc etiam
apud q̄dā gētes, nominatim apud Britānos, infelix omen habet, si cū parat uenatio, alijs mu-
stela nominet, cuius etiā occurus uulgo nūc habet inauspicat⁹. Adagiū refert a Diogeniano.

Fastuosus Maximus.

κομπὸς μέγιστος, id est, Fastuosus Maximus. In eum dicebatur, qui sibi plus satis arrogasset in
sapientia. Sumptum a moribus Maximi cuiuspiam arrogantis, & sibi immodice placentis. In
nonnullis exemplaribus inuenio κομπὸς μέγιστος, Græcis κόμπτος arrogantiam, insolentiamq̄
significat, unde κομπῆν ἢ κομπάζειν. Vnde & Euripides γλῶσσαι καμπῶν, id est, Linguaeque fa-
stus. Recensetur & hoc in Diogeniani collectaneis.

E multis paleis paulum fructus collegi.

ἐκ πολλῶν ἀχράων ἐλίγην καρπὸν σιναράγων, id est, Ex multis paleis parum fructus collegi, id est,
multo labore nō multum emolumenti sum cōsecutus. Translatū ab excussoribus tritici.

Oportet remum impellere, qui didicit.

οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐλάττειν μαδόντα, id est, Oportet remum impellere, eum, qui didicerit. Vnūquēq̄
debet eam artem exercere, quā antea doctus sit. Refertur a Plutarcho in cōmentariolo, cui ti-
tulus, οἱ διδάκτρ' ἔμετ' αἱ. Idem admonet Horatianū illud in arte poetica. Ludere qui nescit
campetribus abstinet armis. Indoctusq̄ pilæ disci ue, Trochi ue quiescit. Ne spissæ rursū
tollant impune coronæ, Qui nescit, uersus tamē audent fingere. Quin & hodiernis tempo-
ribus huiusmodi uulgo iactat adagiū. Qui lusus nō nouit legem, abstineat.

Ex ipso boue lora fumere.

ἐκ τοῦ βοῦς φῆγεῖν λωμῶνα, id est, Ex ipso boue lora fumere dicunt, q̄ quo lædit quēpiā,
id ab ipso quæ lædit, accipiūt. Veluti siq̄ uersibus incessest eū, a quo carminis cōponēdi rati-
onē didicisset. Aut tyrānus pecuniā extorqueat a ciuib⁹, qua satellitiū ad opprimēdā ciuitatē
alat. Metaphora sumpta est ab agricolis, q̄ lora cedūt e boui tergoribus, q̄bus boues uinciunt,
Plutarchus in cōmentario, cui titulus, οἱ σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχὴς
κόσ' ἔχειν ἔχοντα νόσων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ πείσματος, τὸν βοῦς, τοῦς λωμῶνας λαμβάνουσιν, τὸν ἐλγῆ
λῶνα ἐν τῷ σώματι, id est, Quid igit dixerit q̄piā. Satis est ipa corporis natura morboze inate
etiā in sese cōtines, ac iuxta qd̄ loco dici solet, tāq̄ ex ipso boue lora fumēs, ita ex ipso corpe do-
lores.

Ex uno omnia spectā.

ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα ὄρα, id est, Ex uno omnia spectā. Vergilius item. Et crimine ab uno Dilce om-
neis. Admonet adagiū, ex unius euentus experimento, reliquorum similium coniecturam
oportere facere. Refertur a Suida.

Ex aspectu nascitur amor.

ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεσθαι ἔργον ἀφροσύνη ἐργῶν, id est, Amor ex uidentō nascit⁹ mortalibus. Senarius p̄
uerbalis admonēs, oculos amore potissimū conciliare. Non enim amaf incognitū, ex conui-

LXXI

hunc adscribit licet
sachotis, cumplam
uia ob simpliciter
pignus qui de adu
matrimo sui cario
nasti mo) mambins
succubitus, ita er
manu p̄p̄m̄p̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXII

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXIII

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXIII

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXV

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXVI

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXVII

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXVIII

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

LXXIX

manu p̄p̄m̄p̄t
Tandē nūc nulla
fuit ab optat ob
Sario nūm cum
lactatōi h̄m̄p̄p̄t
Romana nūl s̄tra
ingr̄p̄t trimoc
quidē p̄p̄p̄t
Tolūp̄t ab̄p̄p̄t
p̄p̄p̄p̄t p̄p̄p̄t

We can clearly appreciate the significance of Erasmus of Rotterdam for Zwingli, for example, in the title woodcut of the pamphlet entitled *Beschreibung der goetlilchen müly* (Zürich, 1521)⁹² by Martin Seger⁹³ from canton Graubünden. The work was written in collaboration with Zwingli who wrote to his friend Myconius thus: “I will give you a brief answer to your question. This depiction of a mill on the title page derives from a man from canton Graubünden who sent it to me. His name is Martin Seger and he is a layman. However, despite his ignorance of Latin, he has an excellent knowledge of the Scriptures. I looked at the material he sent and thought that, at times, his utterances on Luther were inappropriate and would more aptly apply to God and Christ. But as I had no time to put the material into verse, I handed it over to Johannes Füssli, the foundry man with the poor hearing at the Rennweg (you know who I mean: he always just stands to my left when I am preaching, therefore you will inevitably find expressions in the work which are typical of me. He just heard them through frequent attendance at my sermons.) So it was he who composed all the verses, but some people wanted to believe that the work was mine because of those turns of phrase. Finally I was able to persuade the man to inform the public that it was his work and that he had nothing to fear. My only contribution was to point out to him most of the references in the Holy Scriptures which he diligently examined and then proceeded to show me the poem. It pleased me exceptionally with its simple, easily understood language: and because it was to sound authentically Swiss, it was printed quickly without any re-writing or improvements. I designed the look of the pamphlet with him: the first verse and title are mine, nothing else.”⁹⁴ Thus Zwingli and Füssli jointly designed the title

92 Göttler (1984).

93 Bundi (2017).

94 Letter from Zwingli to Myconius from May 25, 1521, in: Z VII, p. 457 f.: “Brevibus respondebo his, que percunctatus es. Mole huius argumentum, quod in scede prima facie occurrit, a Rheto quodam laico, sed egregie docto in sacris literis, quantum scilicet licuit Latine indocto, concinnatum est ac ad me transmissum. Martinus Säger is est. Ego vero argumento perspecto, quod ille ad Luterum incommodius traxerat, ad deum et Christum rectius trahi putabam, et cum non esset tantum ocli, ut rithmos compingerem, tradidi argumentum ipsum Ioanni Füesslij, fusori isti surdastro in vico Rennweg habitanti, ei, inquam, (ut hominem recte noscas), qui nobis pro suggestu docenti ad levam semper adstat, unde et verba illic vides quedam nobis peculiora, que ille nimirum ex frequenti auditu nostri (ut fit) imitatus est. Is enim rithmos omneis fecit, quibus quidem verbis nonnulli pervincere voluerunt nostram esse opellam, donec admonerem hominem, pateretur rem palam de se predicari factam; nihil prorsus apud nostros esse periculi. Hoc tamen feci: loca illi ostendi pleraque in sacris literis, que ille diligenter vovit et figmentum mecum contulit, quod mire ob sermonis simplicitatem et claritatem placuit, imo, quod sermo prorsus esset Helveti-

woodcut (ill. 8). Erasmus is depicted in a central position, in that role which the young reformer thought fitting for him. In the upper left hand of the picture we see God the Father who sent his son to earth: Christ stands at the mill as a miller pouring into it those things which he gave us (symbols for the various evangelists and Paul with the spiritual sword). Four text scrolls emerge from this mill describing the biblical virtues of "Hope", "Love", "Faith" and "Strength". Erasmus, as the miller's servant, fills the spiritual grain into a sack and hands this raw material (*NT graece*⁹⁵) to Luther who is the baker and kneads the dough into little breads (Bibles).⁹⁶ Another assistant, perhaps representing Zwingli himself, distributes the spiritual bread, the Word of God, to the people, whereas the clergy who disapprove of this, let it fall to the ground. In the accompanying text, this mediating function of Erasmus is described as follows:

"Das hat Erasmus betracht,
Sich ylentz zû der müly gmacht,
Das er zitlich dar ist kommen,
Hat sich des malens angenommen.
Der heyligen gschriftt müller knecht
So uns das mel leert bütlen recht
Mit sinen gschriftten menigfalt,
das es sin suessen gschmak behalt."⁹⁷

This pamphlet, perhaps the most famous Zürich pamphlet of the 16th century, is not the only printed evidence for the appreciation of Erasmus. Since 1521, the Zürich Reformation printer Christoph Froschauer⁹⁸ had published various

cus, effecit, ut celerius extrusum sit ac incorrectius. Figuram una cum illo finxi; rithmum primum, titulum scilicet, ipse feci, et praeter hunc nihil prorsus."

95 Erasmus did not only appear as a miller's servant with the Greek NT, but he also promoted the studying of the Bible with other writings, such as his various *Paraphrases* to the NT or his introductory writings to the NT as for example the *Paraclesis* or the *Ratio seu methodus*.

96 Compare the biblical statement that Jesus and his word are the bread of life: Joh. 6,22–59.

97 Martin Seger: Dyß hand zwen schwytzer puren gmacht ..., Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1521, f. A₄v. Vgl. dazu auch Zwinglis Bemerkung in seiner Schrift von 1527 "Daß diese Worte: 'Das ist mein Leib' usw., z v, S. 815 f.: "Demnach thuestu dich aber thür dar, wie du [Luther] die gschriftt under dem banck harfür bracht habist, mines bedunckens unbillich. Dann so man ye betrachtet, welche uns die gschriftt fürgetragen habind durch das mittel und instrument der sprachen, so müstu Erasmus zû unseren zyten unnd Vallam vor etwas jaren zû eym und den frommen Reuchlin und Pellicanum am andren erkennen."

98 Leu (2007c), pp. 274–308.



ILL. 8 Martin Seger: Dyss hand zwen schwyzer Puren gmacht ..., Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1521. Title-woodcut with the divine mill designed by Huldrych Zwingli and Johannes Füssli (ZBZ, call number: Zwingli 106: a.1)

titles by Erasmus, several having been translated into German by Leo Jud, thus reaching a wider audience.⁹⁹

We also know that Zwingli was a diligent and methodical student of Erasmus, who taught the acquisition and recording of knowledge using his so-called *loci*-collections.¹⁰⁰ In the *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* of 1512, he described this method in detail.¹⁰¹ Firstly, it is important to create a list of key terms (*loci*)—a librarian would call this an index. These terms are then expanded by related, opposite or otherwise connected terms. When he studies different writers, Erasmus recommends recording important references, noteworthy passages, idioms, sayings, anecdotes, illustrative examples etc. under the different headings or *loci* of interest. This sheer act of writing down the material can help the mind to better retain the facts in the memory. One has at one's disposal then a ready assembled body of knowledge for writing one's own publications or researching for lectures and speeches. In 1519 Erasmus transferred his *loci* method of working to the subject of theology in his work entitled *Ratio seu methodus*: "With regard to what I am now going to talk about, I do not know whether it is going to be particularly useful if you have already done it skillfully. This is what it concerns: You could take up any theological theme either as right yourself or as already handed on from someone else. With regard to such themes you would then arrange everything you read about them in certain little cases so that it would be more easily available, when it is looked at, what you may wish to either draw upon or preserve. For instance, it might note some themes as examples: faith, fasting, enduring evile, scandalizing the simple, the study of Sacred Scripture, devotion toward parents or children, Christian charity, reverencing prelates, jealousy, detraction, chastity and other topics of this kind. For one can think up countless themes. When they have been arranged in order, according to the diversity and similarity of things (as we have already indicated in our work *On Fluency*, too), we should collect in respect to these themes whatever is especially of value in all the books of the Old Testament, in the Gospels, in Acts and in the Letters of the Apostles, whether it is in agreement or in opposition. If it would seem good to someone, he could now for this purpose collect from the ancient interpreters or even from the books of the pagans, what he one day might consider to be useful. I almost seem to be able to discern from his writings that Saint Jerome used this

99 Hild (2016), pp. 17–53.

100 Leu (2007b), pp. 327–342.

101 Erasmus von Rotterdam, *De copia*, in: *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Bd. 24, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, Toronto 1978, pp. 279–659, see especially pp. 635–648.

method. If there is something to be discussed, then ready mental tools are at hand. If there is something to be explained, then a collation of passages will be easily available.”¹⁰²

Many, if not all, of Zürich’s sixteenth century scholars used the *loci* method, recording the fruits of their reading in thematically arranged collections, comparable to a card file, but in book form. Bullinger tells us of Zwingli that he also kept a *loci* collection of the Church Fathers: “In his house, in 1524, I saw a big book arranged according to *loci communes*. In this, he wrote statements by and opinions of the Church Fathers.”¹⁰³ Unlike Bullinger’s *loci*- collection, Zwingli’s is unfortunately now lost.¹⁰⁴

2.4 Church Fathers

Certainly Erasmus of Rotterdam drew Zwingli’s attention to the importance of early Christian sources like the Church Fathers and the New Testament, although Zwingli did own patristic texts before he began studying Erasmus. Using quantitative analysis, such as that performed by Alfred Schindler almost thirty-five years ago, we can examine exactly how important the Church Fathers were for Zwingli. Analysing Zwingli’s works for quotations by the Church Fathers, including handwritten annotations in the books and manuscripts of his private library,¹⁰⁵ Schindler came up with the following data:¹⁰⁶

	Zwingli’s works	Z XII	Total
Ambrose	60	391	451
Athanasius	1	14	15
Augustine	217	295	512
Basilius Caesariensis	1	28	29
Cassiodorus	2		2 ¹⁰⁷

102 Morrison Conroy (1974), p. 334 f.
103 Bullinger (1838), p. 30: “Ich hab by imm ein groß Büch gesaehen *locorum communium* (alls ich uff ein zyt by imm was, imm 1524 jar) daryn er die sententias und Dogmata patrum flyßig, yedes an sin ort, verzeychnet hat.”
104 It would appear that the scholars made *loci*-collections throughout their lives as for example Bullinger: ZBZ, call number, Ms Car I 152 and 153.
105 These annotations are partly edited in: Z XII.
106 Schindler (1984), p. 16 and 91–97.
107 Schindler (1984), p. 93. Zwingli did not read Cassiodorus himself, but comments on a quotation of Cassiodorus made by Emser (see: Zwingli: *Adversus Hieronymum Emserum* antibolon, in: Z III, p. 274 f.).

(cont.)

	Zwingli's works	z XII	Total
Chrysostom	34	8	42
Cyprian	8	14	22
Cyrillus Alexandrinus	7	4	11
(Pseudo-) Dionysius the Areopagite	3		3 ¹⁰⁸
Eusebius of Caesarea	6		6
Pope Gregory	5	25	30
Gregorius Nazianzenus	1		1
Jerome	486 ¹⁰⁹	387	873
Hilary of Poitiers	14	38	52
Ignatius of Antioch	1		1 ¹¹⁰
John of Damascus	2	4	6
Irenaeus	7		7
Justin Martyr	1		1 ¹¹¹
Lactantius	2		2
Melito of Sardis	2		2 ¹¹²
Origen	32	313	345
Rufinus	1	12 ¹¹³	13
Tertullian	49		49

108 Zwingli knew Dionysius from the writings of Erasmus, Suidas and Jerome's "De viris illustribus", cf.: Huldrych Zwingli: Christliche Antwort Zürichs an Bischof Hugo, in: z XII, p. 219 f. Schindler wrote, that there are four references to Dionysius by Zwingli, but we saw only three (z I, p. 278, is wrong).

109 402 of 486 quotations are in z XIV (commentaries on the Prophets of the Old Testament).

110 Schindler (1984), p. 95, says, that in z v Ignatius is mentioned only once (on p. 278). Zwingli refers here to Balthasar Hubmaier, who argued with Dionysius and Ignatius, but there is no reason to say, that Zwingli read Ignatius himself.

111 Zwingli quoted Justinus Martyr's *Cohortatio ad Graecos* by heart in his commentary on Jeremiah (z XIV, p. 656). He possessed the latin translation of the work by Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (see no. 148, f. m₂r–n₅r).

112 Zwingli mentions him twice in his *Von Klarheit und Gewissheit des Wortes Gottes* (z I, p. 343), but his sources are Eusebius or Origenes. There is no reason to believe, that Zwingli read something written by Melito.

113 These are not quotations from Rufinus, but from his translation of Origen. See z XII, p. 5.

Four names stand out here in particular: Jerome is mentioned 873 times, Augustine 512, Ambrose¹¹⁴ 451 and Origen 345, the names of the latter two occurring predominantly in the marginal notes of Zwingli's copy of the Greek Pauline epistles.

2.4.1 Jerome

Zwingli owned the large nine-volumed edition of St. Jerome's *Opera*, published in 1516 in Basle (no. 98). In 1520 Oecolampadius edited an index volume to this edition of the collected works of one of the most famous Latin Church Fathers (no. 141). On 25th October 1516 Glareanus packed up the first volume to send to Zwingli in Einsiedeln, not doubting that the monastery there would also purchase the volumes,¹¹⁵ which it did.¹¹⁶ This edition of Jerome enjoyed great popularity and was also purchased by other clerics and contemporaries of Zwingli. On 13th February 1519, Beatus Rhenanus asked Zwingli, for example, how Michael Sander, Cardinal Schiner's secretary,¹¹⁷ wished his copy to be bound, in boards or in parchment. If he wished to have every volume bound separately like Antonio Pucci, the papal legate in the Swiss confederacy, then the price would be 4.5 guilders for each volume.¹¹⁸

On 22nd February 1519 Zwingli answered him: "Michael Sander wishes the first and the second volume to be especially, i.e. individually, bound in thin wooden boards; the third and the fourth, on the other hand, are to be combined into one volume and the fifth, which cannot be divided up, is to be bound together with the sixth and seventh, not so with the eighth and the ninth, each of which represents a volume in its own right."¹¹⁹ On May 2nd 1519 Zwingli again wrote to Beatus Rhenanus stating that sheet 3a of volume six was missing in his

114 These are mostly not quotations from Ambrose, but from Ambrosiaster. Cf. Schindler (1984), p. 91.

115 Z VII, p. 47.

116 InkEi, nos. 1254–1258.

117 Schiner was asked in 1514 by the burgermeister/mayor of Basle, Peter Offenburg, whether he could motivate the Pope to write a letter of recommendation on behalf of the edition of the works of Jerome. Possibly Schiner is at the bottom of the privilege, written by Pope Leo X., which is published in the first volume. Cf. Büchi (1920), p. 324; Büchi (1937), p. 402 and 425–427.

118 Z VII, p. 136.

119 Z VII, p. 138f.: "Michael Sanderius hoc cupit, ut primus vel secundus peculiariter seorsimve complicentur asscribus, quantum fas est, tenuioribus; tertius et quartus unis operimentis vestiantur, similiter quintus, qui haud dividi potest, sextus item et septimus uno tecto habitare contenti erunt, quod nec octavus et nonus, quorum uterque istum prestabit librum."

own copy, a matter upon which he had already written.¹²⁰ It does seem to have been sent to him subsequently because it is present today in Zwingli's edition.

In his copy of the works of Jerome, Zwingli annotated primarily Erasmus's preface, the commentaries on the prophets and Pelagius's commentaries (then attributed to Jerome) on the Pauline letters. The numerous annotations in the *Psalterium quadruplex* contain extracts from commentaries on the Psalms by Augustine, Basil and Martin Luther (ill. 9).¹²¹ Jerome was particularly important to Zwingli from a philological point of view: "Besonderes Interesse brachte er ferner ganz unverkennbar denjenigen Arbeiten des Hieronymus entgegen, die sich auf die Herstellung eines emendierten Bibeltextes und berichtiger Übersetzungen bezogen. Er las alles hierauf Bezügliches mit der grössten Aufmerksamkeit und begrüßte lebhaft das prinzipielle Zurückgehen auf den Grundtext."¹²² In the preface to his commentary on Isaiah, Zwingli frankly declares that without Jerome, he would never have reached a true textual understanding of the prophet's meaning.¹²³

Jerome was known to have been guided by the Greek text where there was ambiguity in the Latin New Testament and, if there were problematic passages in the Latin and Greek Old Testament, he would refer to the *veritas hebraica* which occasionally made him enemies, as certain scholars regarded the *Sep-tuaginta* as inspired. Furthermore, Jerome was the only Church Father to have written commentaries on all the prophets of the Old Testament,¹²⁴ therefore it should not surprise us that this made Jerome crucially important to Zwingli: the majority of the 486 references to Jerome in Zwingli's books are in his commentaries on the Old Testament.¹²⁵ From the handwritten annotations we can conclude that Zwingli used these volumes over years.

Various marginal notes shed light on the monastic life where the monks' battle with drunkenness and licentiousness was fought only half-heartedly. We see this, for example, in Zwingli's marginal note to a section of the 79th letter of Jerome to Salvina: "Videant benedictini" (may the Benedictines read this!)¹²⁶ In

120 Z VII, p. 164.

121 Backus (1997), p. 637; Brecht (1985), p. 313. Martin Luther possessed the same edition of Jerome's works. He annotated it more intensely than any other work in his library. Cf. Brecht and Peters (2000), p. 10.

122 Usteri (1885), p. 686.

123 Z XIV, p. 87.

124 Fürst (2016), p. 109 and 123.

125 Schindler (1984), p. 94f.

126 Jerome, Opera, vol. 1, f. 34v.

HIERO. IVX TA HEB.

Sint placentes sermones oris mei, & meditatio
cordis mei in conspectu tuo: domine fortitu-
do mea, & redemptor meus.

Victori Psalmus David. XX

Exaudiat te dominus in die tribula-
tionis: protegat te nomen dei Iacob.

Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto, &

de sion roboret te. Memor sit omnis sacrificii
tui: & holocaustum tuum pingue fiat semper.

Det tibi fidem cor tuum: & omnem uoluntatem
tuam impleat. Laudabimus in salutari tuo,

& in nomine dei nostri ducemus choros: im-
pleat dominus omnes petitiones tuas. Nunc

suo quoniam saluabit dominus Christum suum:
exaudiet eum de celo sancto suo, in fortitu-
dine salutis dexterae eius. Hi in cubilibus & hi

in equis: nos autem nomen domini dei nostri recorda-
bitur. Ipsi incurui sunt & ceciderunt: nos

autem irreximus & erecti sumus. Dñe salua-
rex exaudies nos in die qua inuocauerimus te.

Victori Psalmus David. XXI

Omnino in fortitudine tua letabitur
rex: & in salutari tuo exultauit ue-
hementer. Desiderium cordis eius

dedisti ei: & uoluntate laborum eius non fra-
dasti eum semper. Quoniam prauentisti eum

in benedictionibus bonitatis: pones in capite
eius coronam de obsequio. Vitam petiuit a

te & dedisti ei: longitudinem dierum in sa-
lutarum & in aeternum. Magna gloria eius in sa-
lutarum tuo: gloriam & decorem pones super

eum. Pones enim eum in benedictione sem-
piternam: & hilarabis eum lacticia apud uultum

tuum. Quia rex confidet in domino: & in mi-
sericordia excelsi non decipitur. Inueniet

manus tua omnes inimicos tuos: dextera tua
inueniet odientes te. Pones eos ut diba-

num ignis in tempore uultus tui, dominus in
furore suo precipitabit eos: & deuorabit eos

ignis. Fructum eorum de terra perdes: & se-
men eorum de filiis hominum. Quoniam indi-

cauerunt super te malum, cogitauerunt scelus
quod non potuerunt. Quoniam pones eos

humum, funes tuos firmabis contra facies
eorum. Exaltare domine in fortitudine tua.

cantabimus & psallamus fortitudinis tuae.

Victori pro ceruo matutino. cantu-
m David. XXII

Eus me? deus me? quare dereliqui-
sti me, longe a salute mea uerba iugitus mei.

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

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Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

Deus meus

החלים

יהוה לרחמי אבירי מי והחיות
למי למצור יהוה עזרי ונצחתי:

למצור ממוחל לרוב
עצמי וחור ביום צרה

ושבתי שם אצרי וקעם: וישלח
עזרי מפרש ומצור וסערי:

וזר כל מנחתי ועלתי
ירשתי כלח: יתן לך כל צרכי

וכל עזתי ופלא: ורגנתי
בישועתי ובכסם אצרינו נרגל

ופלא וחור כל מנחתי
עצמי ורשתי כי חושני יתוח מ

בשתי ונצחו משמי קרשי
בגבורתי ויש ויחזו: אלה

ברכב ואלה בסוכים ואנחתי
בשמי חור אצרינו כסונו ו

פרט ונפלו ואנחתי קסנו
ונחתי: יהוה חושניתי ח

הסלק רגנתי ביום קרשי
כא

למצור ממוחל לרוב
חור עזרי ושבתי בלח

ובישועתי מוחל מוחל: וישלח
לבו מנחתי כל וארשתי ששתי

כל מנחתי כלח: כי חושניתי
ברכתי קוב השתי לראשתי ע

עסתי מוחל חושניתי ממוחל
מנחתי כל אצרי וימים עלם

קר: צור בבורו בישועתי
חור וחור חושניתי על: כי

השיתח ברכות לעז התרחו
בשמיחתי אצרי: כי ח

הסלק בשמיחתי ונחתי ע
קרתי כל ימים: חושניתי

נרגל כל אצרי וימים חושניתי
ששתי: חושניתי ממוחל: אש

לעז עזרי חור כסונו וכלם
וחושניתי אש: פרטו מנחתי

חושניתי וקעם חושניתי אש
כי חושניתי קרתי חושניתי מ

מנחתי כל חושניתי: כי ח
השיתח ששמי בישועתי ח

חושניתי על פתיחתי: רומח
חור עזרי בישועתי ונחתי ח

בגבורתי: כא

למצור על אצרי חושניתי
ממוחל לרוב: אלה

אלי למה עזבתי רחמי מ
בישועתי וצרי ששתי:

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this letter, Jerome appeals to the young widow with two children to preserve her chastity and her widowhood. Both these concepts were apparently rather alien to Zwingli's Benedictine neighbours.

A little later, Jerome wrote in a letter to Paulinus: "Plenus venter facile de ieuniis disputant" (it is easy to talk about fasting when one has a full stomach).¹²⁷ Zwingli went on to quote a passage from Baptista Mantuanus: "Qui satur est pleno laudat ieunia ventre" (those who are full, praise fasting with a full belly).¹²⁸ Zwingli criticises those who impose fasting upon the people, but who themselves cultivate a lavish lifestyle. In another letter to Eustochius, Jerome points out that wine ignites rage. Zwingli wrote in the margin: "Vinum fugiendum" (wine must be shunned).¹²⁹ In his annotations, we often find cross-references to other works in his personal library, such as Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (no. A 190),¹³⁰ the *Adagia* by Erasmus (no. 71),¹³¹ the Church Fathers Ambrose (no. A 1),¹³² Cyrillus¹³³ and Chrysostom¹³⁴ or to the codex with Jerome's commentary on Isaiah which Zwingli read in the abbey library of Einsiedeln (no. 205).¹³⁵ It was only during his Zürich period that Zwingli studied the *Psalterium quadruplex* in the eighth volume of Jerome's works, containing the Psalms in Greek and Hebrew as well as in Jerome's Latin translation. He annotated all four columns up until Psalm 75 and added the individual tituli. Zwingli often refers in his marginalia to Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and to the *Tractatus super Psalmos* by Hilary of Poitiers. Pliny, Flavius Josephus, Basil and Origen also feature. Where Jerome was groundbreaking for Zwingli as a philologist and biblical scholar, Augustine was singularly influential on him as a theologian.

2.4.2 Augustine

As has already been stated in the discussion on Erasmus, Zwingli recalled in 1527 that eleven years earlier, he had discovered the embodiment and the power of the Gospel through his reading of John's Gospel, through Augustine's treatises and through the Greek Epistles of Paul. We must not equate this realisation

¹²⁷ Jerome, Opera, vol. 1, f. 46v.

¹²⁸ Baptista Mantuanus: Bucolica seu adolescentia, in decem aeglogas divisa, Strasbourg, Johannes Prüs iunior, 1514, f. 4r.

¹²⁹ Jerome, Opera, vol. 1, Basle 1516, f. 63r.

¹³⁰ Jerome, Opera, vol. 2, Basle 1516, f. 3v.

¹³¹ Jerome, Opera, vol. 2, Basle 1516, f. 154v.

¹³² Jerome, Opera, vol. 5, Basle 1516, f. 4v.

¹³³ Jerome, Opera, vol. 5, Basle 1516, f. 76v.

¹³⁴ Jerome, Opera, vol. 5, Basle 1516, f. 144r.

¹³⁵ Jerome, Opera, vol. 5, Basle 1516, f. 33r.

with his actual shift to Reformational thinking or conversion, but it was certainly the starting point for a period of development for Zwingli which lasted for years, culminating in his recognition of his own sinfulness and his need for forgiveness by grace which he experienced in 1520¹³⁶ and articulated later, in 1523: "Because he [Jesus Christ], who was innocent, suffered death for us guilty sinners, he paid for us the price of perfect righteousness with God, which no-one else could possibly do. In this way, he enabled us to come to God through his free grace and his gift. Whoever hears this and truly believes is saved. That is the Gospel message."¹³⁷

While Jerome familiarised Zwingli with the methods of textual criticism for the Old and New Testaments, Augustine opened his eyes to the content of the Bible. The treatises by Augustine which Zwingli mentions in this context refer most probably to Augustine's commentary on John's Gospel (*Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium*).¹³⁸ As Zwingli only acquired his edition of Augustine after his arrival in Zürich, we do not know whether he had seen Augustine's works in manuscript or print form before, either in Glarus or in the abbey at Einsiedeln, which he entered at the end of November 1516.¹³⁹

As with other reformers, Zwingli's route along the narrow path to the discovery of God's grace, was by way of Augustine. He would of course have seen much evidence for this in the Church Father's commentary on John's Gospel, for example, when Augustine wrote in sermon Twelve on the story of Nicodemus in chapter three of John: "Meanwhile, brothers and sisters, to be healed of sin let us gaze upon Christ crucified, because just as Moses, he said, lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish, but may have eternal live. Just as those who gazed on that serpent did not die because of the serpent's bite, so those who gaze in faith on the death of Christ are healed of the bite of sins. They

¹³⁶ Cf. p. 1.

¹³⁷ Huldrych Zwingli: Göttliche und menschliche Gerechtigkeit, in: ZS, vol. 1, p. 34: "Da er [Jesus Christus] aber, der unschuldig war, für uns schuldige Sünder den Tod erlitt, bezahlte er für uns die ganz vollkommene Gerechtigkeit Gottes, der sonst kein Mensch Genüge zu tun vermag. Damit hat er es uns verdient, dass wir zu Gott kommen können aus seiner freien Gnade und Gabe. Wer dies hört und unangezweifelt glaubt, wird selig. Das ist das Evangelium."

¹³⁸ Goeters (1985), p. 128.

¹³⁹ According to the modern catalogues of manuscripts and imprints, there was no handwritten or printed copy of Augustine's *Tractatus in Ioannis evangelium* in the library of the monastery in Einsiedeln. Cf. Odo Lang: Katalog der Handschriften in der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, Erster Teil, Codices 1–500, p. 988 f. (typoscript); Lang (2009), p. 796; InkEi, p. 29 f. and 325 f. Maybe the copy Zwingli used was destroyed by fire.

were preserved from death for a life in time, but Christ says that they might have had eternal life. This, you see, is the difference between that representative image and the real thing; that image bestowed time-bound life; the reality it represented bestows eternal life."¹⁴⁰

Zwingli learned from Augustine that it is not through good works that we find forgiveness for our sins, but only through faith in the ultimate work of Christ on the cross at Golgotha. And faith means inviting Jesus into our heart as Augustine explained in his fifteenth Sermon on John's Gospel about the woman at Jacob's well, John, chapter four: "So then the women left her bucket (Jn. 4:28). On hearing, I am he, talking to you now, and having received Christ the Lord in her heart, what else should she do but abandon the bucket and run off to evangelize?"¹⁴¹

Yes, faith means sharing Jesus' suffering on the cross by spiritually becoming one with him and, personally availing ourselves of God's forgiveness as Augustine explained in the 26th Sermon on the Bread of Life: "Let us listen to him: The charity of God, he says, has been poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom 5:5). So then, the Lord, who was going to give the Holy Spirit, said he was himself the bread who came down from heaven, urging us to believe in him. To believe in him, in fact, is to eat the living bread. The one who believes, eats; he is invisibly filled, because he is invisibly reborn; inside, he is an infant; inside he is new; where he is newly planted, that is where he is filled up."¹⁴²

Zwingli's fascination with Augustine continued. He studied him not only in Glarus, where he probably acquired his *De civitate Dei* (published in 1515) and his *De trinitate* (no. 14/15),¹⁴³ but continued to reflect on the Church Father in Einsiedeln and later in Zürich. As he finished paying for his copy of Augustine's collected works at the earliest in the spring of 1521, it can be assumed that he acquired it after his arrival in Zürich, which is confirmed in the palaeographic analysis. All the annotations in this work can be dated to after July 1519.¹⁴⁴

What is striking however is, that Zwingli has actually glossed very little, considering how important Augustine was for him, which suggests he recorded the fruits of his reading in a *loci* collection.

¹⁴⁰ Augustinus (2009), p. 238.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 293.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 450.

¹⁴³ Schindler (1996), pp. 435–446.

¹⁴⁴ Furthermore the richly annotated 7th volume with Augustine's *Tractatus in Ioannis evangelium* does not originate from Zwingli's library. It is incomprehensible, how Walther Köhler could make such a wrong ascription. The volume was later added for the completion of the uncomplete or damaged edition.

Augustine was also critically significant for Zwingli in his theological disputes. We find compelling proof of this in the third book of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* where Augustine states that God gave us the sacraments of Holy Baptism and of the Lord's Supper as symbols (*signa*). Zwingli noted in the margin of this work: "Non est signum a Deo institutum crux lignea" (the wooden cross is not a God-given symbol).¹⁴⁵ This note reminds us of the debates around idols and images in the churches of Zürich which was only resolved in the summer of 1524 with the removal of icons.¹⁴⁶

Zwingli also looked to Augustine for guidance in the matter of the legitimacy of infant baptism which he debated with the Anabaptists. In his work *Von dem Touff* of 1525, he refers to Augustine no less than fifteen times and quotes verbatim from *De baptismo contra Donatistas* on at least one occasion. It was moreover in this work of Augustine that Zwingli found justification for infant baptism, specifically in the passage in which Augustine states that circumcision in the Old Testament corresponds to baptism in the New Testament and that, through these rituals, the child is received into the communion of God's people.¹⁴⁷ Surprisingly, Zwingli's well-thumbed copy of *De baptismo contra Donatistas* is barely annotated, suggesting once again, that he transcribed the interesting passages into a *loci*-collection.

As well as the two above-mentioned printed editions of Augustine's works, Zwingli must also have been in possession of a copy of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* because his copy of the *Psalterium quadruplex* by Jerome¹⁴⁸ contains copious annotated references to Augustine's commentary of the Psalms. The text is not included in the edition of the collected works by Amerbach, so Zwingli must have seen a different text, now lost to us. In the abbey library of Zürich's Grossmünster, there was a manuscript of the text,¹⁴⁹ but the headings to the Psalms in this document do not correspond to the headings which Zwingli annotated in his own copy of the printed *Psalterium quadruplex*.¹⁵⁰

Since it was not the first but the second edition of Luther's *Operationes in Psalmos*,¹⁵¹ printed in 1521, which Zwingli used to annotate the *Psalterium*

145 Augustinus: De doctrina christiana, in: Opera, Quarta pars librorum, vol. 2, Basle 1506, f. h₂v.

146 Farner (1954), vol. 3, pp. 485–488.

147 Leu and Scheidegger (2007), p. 45.

148 See no. 98 (shelf mark: III ZZ 129).

149 Augustinus: In psalmos, 10./11. century, shelf mark: ZBZ, Ms Car C 10–14 (Germann, no. 207–211).

150 The *Tituli*, used by Zwingli correspond with the so called 6th series, how it is found by Bruno of Würzburg. Cf. Hoburg (1994), p. 212 f.; Salmon (1959), pp. 153–186.

151 Hoburg (1994), p. 210 f.

quadruplex, we can no longer regard these marginalia as direct proof of his Reformation breakthrough of 1520. Nonetheless, they do give us a lucid insight into the theology of the spiritually speaking, still young reformer, at that period.¹⁵² It is unknown, to what extent Zwingli cited Augustine not directly but indirectly through mediation of Luther. For example, Zwingli referred in the case of Psalm 6:5 to Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, stating that salvation cannot be achieved by one's own merits.¹⁵³ At Psalm 30:2, he once again enlists Augustine's help: "There is a justice that belongs to God, but becomes ours as well when it is given to us. It is called God's justice to ensure that humans do not imagine that they have any justice as from themselves."¹⁵⁴ This question, if Zwingli depends directly on Augustine or indirectly via Luther still requires further investigation.¹⁵⁵

2.4.3 Consensus quinque saecularis

Zwingli was not only an avid scholar of Augustine and Jerome, but also of other Church Fathers and read widely in the religious texts of the first five centuries, and if we include John of Damascus, of the first seven centuries.¹⁵⁶ He read these writers with eagerness and felt himself to be connected to them theologically. We have already seen in the analysis of Zwingli's quotations that Ambrose,¹⁵⁷ Chrysostom, Origen and Tertullian were important Church Fathers for him. His personal copies of Ambrose and Tertullian are unfortunately now lost (no. A 1 and A 205). The latter was bound with an edition of Lactantius (no. A 112), also now lost. Nevertheless, Fritz Büsser was able to demonstrate various theological similarities between Lactantius and Zwingli.¹⁵⁸

It is apparent from Zwingli's annotations in his handwritten copy of the Greek Pauline Epistles, made during his Einsiedeln period, that Origen was influential for him (ill. 10). Origen was Zwingli's highest patristic authority at

¹⁵² Köhler (1943), pp. 71–74.

¹⁵³ Z XII, p. 330: "intelligit non suorum meritorum esse quod sanatur."

¹⁵⁴ Augustinus (2000), p. 325. The latin text: "Est enim iusticia dei, que et nostra fit, cum donatur nobis; ideo autem dei iusticia dicitur, ne homo se putet a se ipso habere iusticiam." Cf. Köhler, Randglossen-Edition, Z XII, p. 343.

¹⁵⁵ Schindler (1987), pp. 248–250.

¹⁵⁶ Schindler (1984), pp. 50–52.

¹⁵⁷ Ambrose was not at least important for Zwingli in regard of liturgical questions. Cf. Backus (1997), p. 630: "Otherwise it is worth noting that Zwingli makes extensive use of [Pseudo?] Ambrose's *De sacramentis* in his attack on the canon of the Mass entitled *De canone missae epichiresis*, published in 1523. He uses the *De sacramentis* to show that liturgies were not uniform in the Early Church and that there is therefore no reason do defend the canon."

¹⁵⁸ Büsser (1971), pp. 375–399; cf. Rordorf (1977), pp. 33–42.

that time, followed by Ambrose, with Augustine still somewhat in the background.¹⁵⁹ It is also interesting to note that Zwingli made the following remark at the back of his copy of the *NT graece* in the handwriting typical of the phase after July 1519: “Ori[genis] docere aut[em] e[st] p[ro]phetare homel[ia] i[n] Mat[thaeum] 3^o, fo. 61 A.” In fact, on page 61 (recto) of Zwingli’s copy of Origen (no. 143), the sentence “docere autem est prophetare” is underlined in a section containing the 30th sermon on Matthew’s Gospel. The New Testament teacher or preacher thus corresponds to the Old Testament prophet. Zwingli’s conviction that Christian pastors have much in common with Jewish prophets was already apparent in his Einsiedeln period.¹⁶⁰ The passage by Origen was obviously of the utmost significance to him, which is why he noted it in his cherished handwritten *NT graece*.

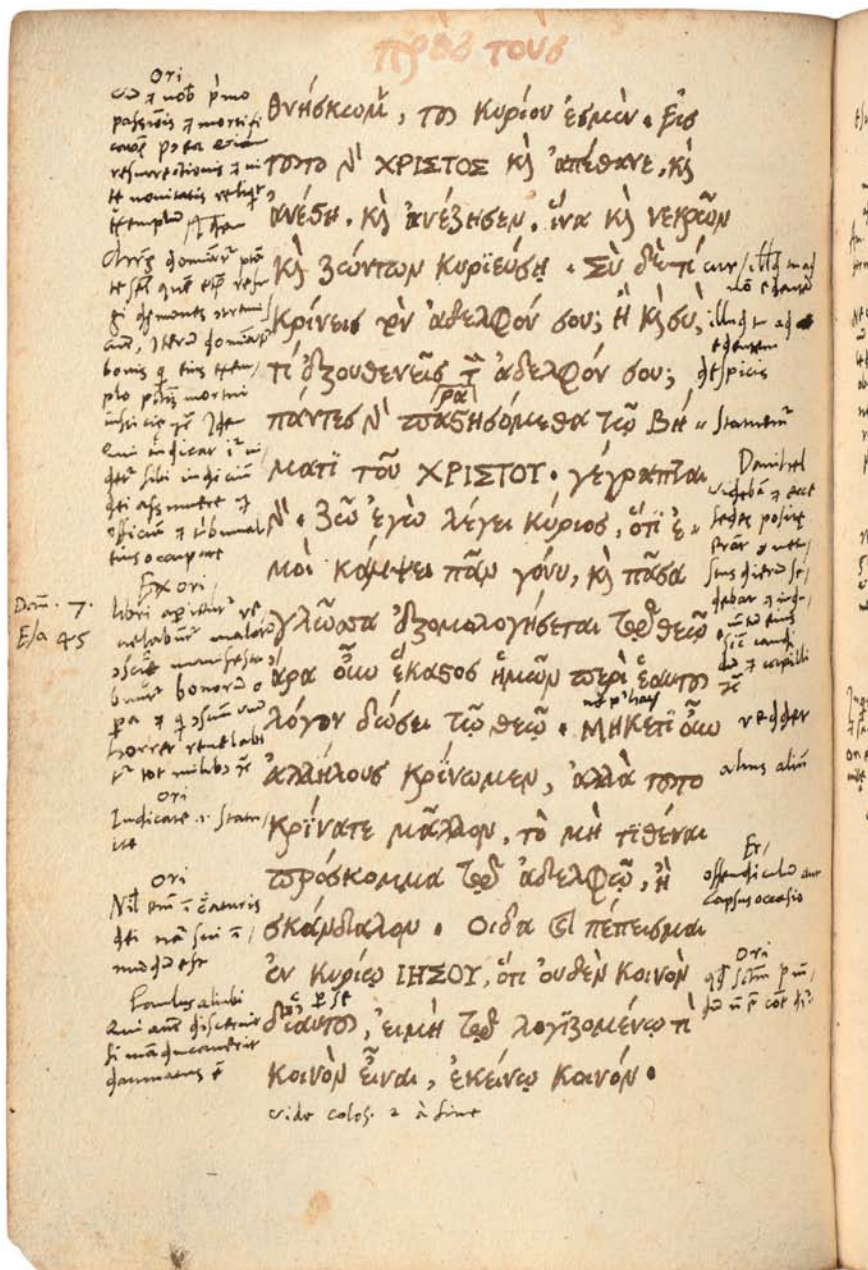
The handwriting of the various annotations in volume two of his copy of Origen suggests that he continued to study it in Zürich after July 1519. An annotation to the commentary on Matthew reveals Zwingli as a forerunner of the Reformation. He wrote (f. 3v): “Crux magis praedicari debet quam ex virgine nativitas vel miracula” (the cross must be preached more than the Virgin Birth or the miracles). Zwingli also annotated Origen’s commentary on the epistle to the Romans. Not only did he mark the passage (in the margin) where Origen praises the blood of Jesus as the price for our sin, he also praised the Grace of God in his own words there (f. 148r). A few pages later (f. 159v) Origen comments on Romans 4:4 f.: “What he says, ‘Now to the one who works, wages are not imputed as a gift but as something due. But to one who believes in him who justifies the ungodly, faith is reckoned as righteousness’, seems as if to declare that in faith there is the gift of the one who justifies; in works, however, there is the righteousness of the one who repays. But when I consider the majesty of this passage in which he says that the one who works it is repaid as something due, I can hardly convince myself that there could be any work which would demand from God repayment as something due. For even the fact that we are able to do anything at all, to think and to speak, we do through his gift and generosity. What debt will he have to pay back to us, seeing that his capital came first?”¹⁶¹ Zwingli marked this section and noted particularly the word *iusticia*, emphasising that justice comes from faith.

It becomes evident from these annotations that Zwingli agreed with Origen in believing that the cross should be at the heart of ministry, that the sacrifice of Jesus is sufficient and that justification comes from faith. We are instinctively

159 Köhler (1931b), pp. 87–106.

160 Hoburg (1994), p. 152 f.; cf. Büsser (1973).

161 Origen (2001), p. 243.



ILL. 10

Zwingli copied the Pauline epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews in his own hand in 1516/17 (see no. 203). He annotated his manuscript abundantly and often quoted Ori[gen].

reminded here of key concepts of the Reformation: *solus Christus*, *sola gratia*, *sola fide*. Clearly however, Zwingli could not remain loyal to Origen in every single respect: in matters of soteriology the reformer was later obliged to distance himself from the Greek Church Father.¹⁶²

Zwingli acquired the edition of Chrysostom's works in two volumes (no. 106) in spring 1518.¹⁶³ Barely a year later, on 22nd February 1519, he instructed Beatus Rhenanus to have Michael Sander's edition bound like his own.¹⁶⁴ The palaeographical findings suggest that Zwingli began to study these volumes shortly after he had received them, annotating mainly the homilies to Matthew and John. The assumption that it was due to Chrysostom that Zwingli began his systematic interpretation of individual books of the Bible in Zürich (*lectio continua*)¹⁶⁵ may well be true, but cannot be proven.

The oldest, and possibly first texts by a Church Father which Zwingli owned (no. 107) were various works by John of Damascus (676–749), translated into Latin. The first published edition of his Greek writings did not appear until 1531. Zwingli worked his way through this collection of dogmatic writings with great intensity. We can identify about 1'000 traces of his reading and study of this work (ill. 11). Zwingli was interested in christological statements on the doctrine of the two natures of Christ.¹⁶⁶ The only gloss in German relates to the passage where John of Damascus states that God occasionally allows virtuous people to commit adultery in order to break their pride. Zwingli was reminded here of the story of the Old Testament King, David, and his love affair with Bathsheba, noting: "David, das ist uff dich geredt!" (David, this refers to you!) Zwingli did not just have David in mind here, but human weakness generally, perhaps even his own, as is evident from other marginalia.¹⁶⁷

During his period in Glarus, at the earliest in 1510,¹⁶⁸ Zwingli acquired a printed edition of various writings by Gregory of Nazianzenus (no. 96). The two other Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa (no. 97) and Basilus Caesariensis (no. 20), were also in his possession.

While working as priest in Glarus, he also bought Cyrillus Alexandrinus's commentary on John's Gospel printed in 1508 in Paris (no. 58). He presumably received the book in spring 1516 because the corrector Wilhelm Nesen from

162 Farner (1946), p. 251f.

163 Letter from Conrad Brunner to Bruno Amerbach, middle of March 1518, in: AK 2, p. 109f.

164 Z VII, p. 139.

165 Goeters (1969), p. 271.

166 Schindler (1993), pp. 185–195.

167 Schindler (1993), p. 190.

168 Gregorius Nazianzenus is bound together with other imprints, the youngest dates from 1510 (no. 96).

Ioan. Damasc.

patiuntur/vt scilicet moueantur:quippeque nō sint
per seipsa motio/et per seipsa virtus.non secundum
igitur ex opposito distinctionē vt dictū est:sed secū-
dum rationē ex creationis modo illis inditā ab om-
nium opifice causa.vnde et illā pronunciantes:vna
cum diuina/actionē nuncupauerunt.qui enī dixit/
operabatur vtraq; forma cū alterutrius cōmuniōe:
quid aliud fecisse videtur q̄ qui dixit. et cū ieiunaf-
set quadraginta diebus:postea esuriit:dabat enim
nature quando volebat propria operari.sive diuer-
sam in ipso dicant actionē/sive duplicem/sive aliam
et aliam.he enī nominū adiectiones: duas actiones
significant. nā et per huiusmodi pronominations:
frequenter numerus ostenditur.vt per hoc quod di-
cimus diuinum et humanū.differētia enim: rerum
• differentium est differētia.que autem non sunt:qui
fit vt differant:

Math.4.

Pronominatio

Ad eos qui dicunt/si duarū naturarū et actionū
est homo:neceffe est in Christo tres naturas/et to-
tidem actiones astruere.

Cap.XVI.

*Est hic simile
fieri formam
corporeitatis nā
si de corpore dici
q̄ sit nā potest
facilius q̄ forma
informis sit dicit
tur Aliq; adeo ma-
gis anima re-
peteri nō est ma-
teriam informem
hēc tūc auo
modo perceptibilis ēet sensui exōssitie. Accedit ad hoc corpus mortuum
Animāq; effectū quod haud aliud dici potest a priore cuius se
detur Animae Appetitus exequitū & idem erit quod ante mortuum
corpus p̄ dicitur simile quid additū corpori nisi anima: illa ergo euenit
corpore hominē ostendit nō corpus ut corpus informat Verū corpore
obgetius instructo hominē ut diximus a prius dīctis efficit.*

Nusquisq; sane homo ex duabus componi-
tur naturis/anima et corpore/et has intrāse
mutabiliter in seipso continēs: duas habere
naturas rationabiliter dicitur. saluat enim vtriusq;
etiā post vnionē /naturalem proprietatē.nam neq;
corpus imortale/sed corruptibile:neq; anima mor-
talis/sed immortalis.neq; corpus inuisibile:neq; ani-
ma corporalibus oculis conspicua/sed rationalis/
et intellectiua/et incorporea. illud vero crassum/et
visibile et irrationale.non vnus autē nature:ea que
secundum substantiam ex opposito diuidūtur.non
vnus ergo substantie:anima et corpus. Et rursus

Basle wrote to him on 8th May 1516 informing him that he would forward the missing pages as soon as they arrived from Paris.¹⁶⁹

We do not know exactly when he acquired the edition of Hilary of Poitiers (no. 98); he frequently mentions Hilary in his annotations of the *Psalterium quadruplex* by Jerome. In Einsiedeln he was also interested in reading the *Supputatio temporum* by Eusebius of Caesarea,¹⁷⁰ which he possibly never actually received in the end. Eusebius's church history was available to him in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. It was also in Zürich that he purchased the works of Athanasius (no. 12), Cyprian (no. 57), Irenaeus (no. 104) and Theophylactus (no. A 207).¹⁷¹

2.5 *Bibles and Exegetics*

No Bible or part of a Bible has survived from Zwingli's period in Glarus. It would appear that his intensive study and examination of the Bible began in earnest in Einsiedeln. The only 15th century Bible which Zwingli owned had been a gift from the young philologist Johannes Fries. On the front page of this there is a note stating that it was given in 1506 but this cannot be correct. The sizeable gap between the "MD" and the "VI", combined with the fact that there is a paper loss at this point on the page, indicates that there may originally have been an additional numerical value, such as "XX", making the year read "MDXXVI", which would be more plausible, or even "L" for "MDLVI". The latter reading would say, that the Bible was a donation from Fries to his colleague Huldrych Zwingli the Younger (1528–1571).¹⁷²

During his period in Einsiedeln Zwingli came to the conclusion that, despite the usefulness of the Church Fathers, the Bible should be the single guiding principle for a Christian. In 1523 he wrote on this matter: "Although around that time [1516], I still relied strongly on the ancient church teachers whom I appreciated for their clear interpretation, I was becoming dissatisfied with them at times, as the revered Mr. Diebold von Geroldseck, administrator of Einsiedeln monastery, can still recall, for at that time, I advised him to read Jerome eagerly, taking care however to point out, that soon neither Jerome, nor any other Church Father would be greatly esteemed, but only the Holy Scriptures on their own. This opinion of mine confused him because, on the one hand, I was telling him to read Jerome while suggesting, on the other

169 Z VII, p. 39.

170 Letter from Conrad Brunner to Bruno Amerbach, middle of March 1518, in: AK 2, p. 110.

171 For the importance of these Church Fathers for Zwingli see the preliminary study: Backus (1997), 627–660.

172 Cf. p. 16.

hand, that he would soon be less significant. At that time, I had clearly started to realise that Jerome and the other Church Fathers did a kind of violence to the Scriptures, although they did treat the Bible much better than the Sophists."¹⁷³

Zwingli's handwritten copy of the Greek New Testament (the Pauline Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews), which has already been mentioned several times, is characteristic of this new focus on the Bible. A note on the flyleaf from 1634 by the city librarian, Felix Keller, states that, according to his great-granddaughter Anna Zwingli,¹⁷⁴ Zwingli made this copy in 1517. Zwingli was informed of the publication of the *NT graece* by Wilhelm Nesen in a letter dated 8th May 1516,¹⁷⁵ but he only acquired the second edition of 1519 on 2nd July 1519, as he himself confirmed to Conrad Brunner (no. 32).¹⁷⁶ The source of this *NT graece* of 1516, which Zwingli used as a template, is no longer known. He reworked his own transcription many times, adding marginal notes, both during his time in Einsiedeln as well as in Zürich. In these notes, he mentions the following writers: Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Erasmus, Jerome, Martin Luther, Origen, Rufinus, Theophylactus and Virgil.¹⁷⁷

During the same period from the autumn of 1516 to the autumn of 1517, Zwingli studied the Psalms intensively, consulting and annotating the *Breviarium Constantiense* (no. 36) and the *Psalterium quincuplex* by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes (no. 28)¹⁷⁸ for this task. The latter was also an influence on Luther and his exegesis of the Psalms.¹⁷⁹ In the above-mentioned work, Lefèvre d'Étapes published the following five translations:

173 Huldrych Zwingli: Auslegung und Begründung der Thesen oder Artikel 1523, in: ZS, vol. 2, p. 172f.: "Zwar lehnte ich mich anfangs jener Zeit [1516] noch sehr stark an die alten Kirchenlehrer an, die ich für ihre klare und deutliche Auslegung schätzte. Doch ich ärgerte mich auch ab und zu über sie, wie sich der hochwürdige Herr Diebold von Geroldseck, Verwalter des Klosters Einsiedeln, sicher noch erinnern kann. Denn ich riet ihm damals, eifrig Hieronymus zu lesen, sagte aber gleichzeitig, es würde wohl bald soweit sein, dass weder Hieronymus noch ein anderer Kirchenvater bei den Christen weiter in Ansehen stünde, sondern nur noch die Heilige Schrift. Dieser Ausspruch verwirrte ihn sehr, weil ich ihm einerseits Hieronymus zu lesen empfahl, andererseits andeutete, dieser würde bald nicht mehr viel gelten. Damals begann ich offensichtlich zu merken, dass auch Hieronymus und andere Kirchenväter der Schrift Gewalt antaten, obgleich sie die Schrift viel besser behandelten, als es die Sophisten taten."

174 Z XII, p. 11.

175 Z VII, p. 40.

176 Z VII, p. 197.

177 Z XII, pp. 4–9.

178 Hoburg (1994), p. 61.

179 Cf. Brush (1997), p. 71f.

- *Psalterium romanum*: the oldest translation of the Psalms by Jerome.
- *Psalterium gallicanum*: this translation was by Jerome and was integrated into the text of the Vulgata.
- *Psalterium hebraicum*: this translation, made in 393 by Jerome, is the closest to the Hebrew.
- *Psalterium vetus*: contains a translation which pre-dates Jerome.
- *Psalterium conciliatum*: same as the *Psalterium gallicanum*, with 378 passages modified by Lefèvre d'Étaples.¹⁸⁰

Lefèvre d'Étaples also added a succinct commentary on the Psalms. He was of the conviction that the spirit of God works through the Holy Scriptures to enlighten mankind. He recognised the image of Christ in the historical Psalmist David, interpreting the Psalms christologically which inspired Zwingli to imitate him.¹⁸¹ The fact that Zwingli owned Reuchlin's Latin-Hebrew edition of the Psalms confirms his interest in them: unfortunately we do not know exactly when Zwingli received this work (no. 27). On 10th January 1519 Valentin Tschudi, who was at that time studying in Paris (1519 to 1521), drew Zwingli's attention to the *Octaplus*, an edition of the Psalms laid out in eight columns which presented the text in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Aramaic as well as in three Latin versions. The eighth column contained explanations of various words.¹⁸² Tschudi's famous Hebrew teacher Augustine Giustiniani (1470–1536) had published the work in 1516. Zwingli did not wait long to purchase it (no. 29, ill. 12). Pellikan regarded the publication as a kind of watershed in the history of the study of the Bible: "And so we worked on the magnificent edition (works of Jerome) in June, July and August, divine providence ensuring that, at exactly the same time in Genoa in Italy, Bishop Augustinus Justinianus of Nebbia was publishing a five-language Psalter and in Spain, the entire Bible was printed in four languages, thanks to the diligence and generosity of a Franciscan, the pious Cardinal of Toledo, Franciscus de Cisneros. It has really only been since then that a more diverse study of the sacred languages began and that a more thorough treatment of the Old Testament was possible, as it had been before for the New Testament."¹⁸³

180 Bedouelle (1979): pp. 39–53; Schönau (2017), p. 77.

181 Hoburg (1994), p. 102f.; Schönau (2017), pp. 80–82.

182 Z VII, p. 124f.

183 Pellikan (1892), p. 57: "So schafften wir denn an dem herrlichen Werk [Hieronymus-Ausgabe] im Juni, Juli und August, und die göttliche Vorsehung fügte es, dass genau um die nämliche Zeit in Italien, zu Genua, von dem Bischof Augustin Justinianus von Nebbia ein fünfsprachiger Psalter erschien und in Spanien die ganze Bibel in vier Sprachen, dank dem Fleiss und der Freigebigkeit eines Franziskaners, des frommen Kardinals von Toledo, Franziskus de Cisneros. Seitdem begann erst eigentlich ein mannigfaltigeres Studium der heiligen Sprachen und eine gründliche Behandlung des alten, wie des neuen Testaments."



Bibliotheca collegij Maioris Tiguri.

Astonishingly enough, not one single German Bible has survived from Zwingli's Bible collection, although he certainly knew the so-called *Wormser Propheten* (no. A 17) as well as Luther's New Testament (no. A 18). He used both of these works in preparing his translation for the Zürich Bible.¹⁸⁴ Unlike the private collection of Zwingli's successor, Heinrich Bullinger,¹⁸⁵ no copy of the Zürich Bible has come down to us from Zwingli's library, although he himself contributed greatly to its translation. We do however have a complete Greek Bible which, in a way, can be seen as Zwingli's family Bible (no. 26). He would not have read aloud from it in the family circle, but he recorded the births of his children on the back inside cover. This list of births was continued by his son, recording his children with Anna Bullinger proving that the Bible remained in the Zwingli family after his death and was not transferred to the abbey library of the Grossmünster.¹⁸⁶

It was probably in the spring of 1520 that Zwingli enquired after a Greek Bible in Basle but on 17th April, he received a negative reply from Jakob Nepos: there were none available at that time.¹⁸⁷ He must eventually however have been successful in procuring a copy as he told Beatus Rhenanus on 12th October 1520 that he had acquired the Bible and that the price of ten guilders was very high, but that he nevertheless would not part with it: "Moreover, Hieronymus Froben has lent me a Greek Euripides which, understandably, he wants me to return but hopes the work is available at Curio. I have therefore sent him three guilders to buy it and to have it bound in place of the one he had lent me. If he does not agree to my suggestion, he should tell me and naturally I will return his copy; he should then give his father the money for the Greek Bible. He asked me for ten guilders—goodness! How expensive! I beg you to please tell him he cannot treat me like a tradesman and an unbridled haggler. I will always give him a fair and competitive price, as I have done in the past. I can buy this volume, unbound, for six or at the most seven guilders. But however it turns out, I will not send it back to him, even if I do have to pay ten, but this I only tell you."¹⁸⁸

184 Himmighöfer (1995), pp. 83–164 and 296–331.

185 Leu and Weidmann (2004), p. 80 f.

186 Farner (1916).

187 Z VII, p. 302.

188 Letter from Zwingli to Beatus Rhenanus, October 12, 1520, in: Z VII, p. 354: "Preterea Hieronymus Frobenius commodo dederat nobis Euripidem Grecum, quem nunc, ut par est, reposcit; spem tamen facit apud Curionem coëmi posse. Mitto itaque florenos 3, ut ipse apud illum coëmat atque liget in eius locum, quem nos habemus. Quod si id non placet, renunciet, et benevole hunc suum remitemus, et pecuniam ipse patri pendat pro bibliis Grecis, que nobis decem florenis indicavit. Hui magni! Sed tu, precor, illum admone, ne mecum agere velit tanquam cum circumforaneo et rudi licitatore; equum lucrum a

In this edition of the Bible, Zwingli annotated the Old Testament extensively in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The Greek words are often explained by him in the margin through the original Hebrew or through Latin synonyms. Once again, we see Zwingli's critical approach to reading the text, comparing the Septuaginta and the Hebrew text carefully. He also used underlining and lines marked in above the text. An underlining would appear to indicate that the Greek word in question is missing in the Hebrew text. The lines above the text indicate particular characteristics of the Greek translation.

We know that Zwingli can be credited with the foundation in 1525 of the Higher School (*Hohe Schule*) in Zürich, which essentially functioned as a training centre for prospective reformed pastors. There were also so-called public lectures (*lectiones publicae*) which all pastors, canons, chaplains and older students had to attend.¹⁸⁹ Zwingli's task was to read aloud the appropriate passage from the Septuaginta and to interpret this in Latin.¹⁹⁰ It would appear that he used his Greek Bible for this (no. 26).

A further complete Bible in Zwingli's ownership was the one printed in Latin in Lyon in 1519 and given to him by his Greek student Nicolaus Peier (no. 25).¹⁹¹ This became Zwingli's travel or field preacher's Bible¹⁹² as recorded by an unknown hand on the flyleaf: "Hec est manus propria Zuinglij, et reperies Exo. 38, Levi 26, Isa. 1. 46. 17, Hiere. 3. 41, Ezech. 24. 41, Abacuk 1 no[tationes]. Hunc librum Zwinglius (cum hac theca) circumferre solitus cum (eo?) in prelio Capellano occubuit, anno 1531. XI octobris. Hec autem loca ipse positis scedulis signavit (Esa. 30. 1, 1. Macha. XI) haud dubie in eam sententiam concionaturus si vixisset."¹⁹³

Sadly the case or *Theca* in which Zwingli transported this travel Bible can no longer be located. Zwingli had marked this Bible with two paper bookmarks at the Kappel battlefield: at Isa. 30:1 and at Macc. 11. No doubt he would have preached on those passages if he had survived. Isa. 30:1 says: "Woe to the unruly sons, saith the Lord, who execute a plan that does not come from me, and make an alliance, not by my Spirit, to heap sin upon sin." Isaiah warns here against seeking refuge in Egypt rather than with God. The second passage which he had

nobis recipiat, id quod ipsi ultro semper obtulimus; nam accipio 6 aut ad summum 7 hunc codicem rudem coemptum quandoque. Utcunque tamen habeat, non remittam, etiamsi 10 pendere oporteat; at hoc tibi dico."

189 Farner (1954), vol. 3, pp. 554–560.

190 Heinrich Bullinger (1838), p. 290.

191 Cf. p. 15 f.

192 In the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of the 4./5. September 1883 (Nr. 247 und 248) the Bible from 1479 (no. 24) was mistakenly described as Zwingli's travel or preacher's Bible.

193 The word "secum" was added later, the text was originally "eo cum", cf. Egli (1899), p. 118 f.

marked in 1. Macc. 11 describes how the Jewish Hasmonean Jonathan finally defeated Demetrius II, King of the Seleucids. Zwingli had, it would seem, been anticipating a victory on the battlefield, but as we know, it turned out differently.

2.6 *Polemics*

There were above all, three theological fronts which Zwingli had to contend with: the Catholics, the Lutherans and the Anabaptists. In Zürich his main Catholic counterparts were composed of representatives of the Society of the Constaffel and the *Chorherren* Peter Grebel, Jakob Edlibach, Heinrich Nüscherler, Hans Hagnauer, Erhart Blattmann and, above all, Conrad Hofmann.¹⁹⁴ His literary opponents were the theologians Johannes Eck (1486–1543) whom Luther referred to as “the pig from Ingolstadt”, Johannes Faber (1478–1541), who served as Vicar General of Constance, and Thomas Murner (1475–1537), who ran a printing workshop in Lucerne between 1525 and 1529. Zwingli’s library contains, of course, not only works by his opponents but also Apologies and defensive texts against the accusations of the Papists written by the Freiburg lawyer Ulrich Zasius (1489–1541) or the French-speaking reformer Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) whose broadsheet inviting people to a disputation at the University of Basle is now a rare collector’s item (ill. 13). The disputation was prohibited by the Council and did not take place.¹⁹⁵

A second area of altercation for Zwingli was the subject of the Last Supper which he contested with Luther. Zwingli seems only to have become aware of Luther at the end of 1518, although he had probably heard of the dispute about indulgences in Germany in 1517. His interest in the German reformer only really dates from a year after this when he made enquiries about Luther to his colleague Beatus Rhenanus in Basle. On 6th December 1518 Rhenanus replied: “We have not yet been able to find out anything about Luther.”¹⁹⁶ In the summer of 1519 Luther’s writings were widely available in Switzerland, specifically in Berne and Basle and Zwingli took care, that they were also distributed in Zürich.¹⁹⁷ He encouraged people to read Luther so that they could see that both men were saying the same thing and that Zwingli was not just a lone voice in his opinions. On 7th June 1519 he wrote to Rhenanus: “I am not worried that Luther’s interpretation of the *Lord’s Prayer* (*Usslegung des Vatter unser*) will displease

194 Farner (1960), vol. 4, pp. 83–94.

195 Hieronymus (1984), p. 363 und 625.

196 z VII, p. 114: “De Lutherio nihildum comperti habemus.”

197 Farner (1946), pp. 312–318.

me, nor the work on *German Theology* which, as you inform me, will soon be completed and in print any day now. We will buy a large number of these works, especially if in his writing he expands on the worship of the saints in the *Lord's Prayer*. I have prohibited this practice and, naturally, the people here would be more convinced about this if a second theologian were to testify in the same way."¹⁹⁸ Several days later, Zwingli ordered hundreds of copies of Luther's writings.¹⁹⁹ On 2nd July the consignment left Basle and included numerous copies of Luther's *Usslegung des Vatter unser* (no. A 124).²⁰⁰

Zwingli's first biographer Oswald Myconius wrote: "In this way, Luther's name becomes increasingly famous and everyone is reading his work. Zwingli himself avoided reading Luther but, from the pulpit, he faithfully spurred people on to buy and read him. Deliberately! He wanted them to realise for themselves that Zwingli's ministry and the work of Luther shared a unity of spirit, inspired by the Holy Scriptures, all the time knowing that Zwingli was abstaining from studying Luther. In this way, people would be more inclined to be drawn to the truth and to obey it, even if it contradicted their old habits. This method worked very successfully."²⁰¹

Although Zwingli showed solidarity with Luther, recognising the commonality of their message, it is important to remember that he reached the same theological conclusions independently of Luther,²⁰² as he stressed himself in 1523: "I do not want the papists to call me a Lutheran for I did not learn the doctrine of Christ from Luther, but rather from the Word of God. When Luther preaches Christ, he does the very same as me, though—thank God—innumerable more people are led to God through him than through me and

198 Z VII, p. 181: "Orationis dominicae enarrationem Lutheri haud vereor nobis disciplituram, sed nec vulgarem 'Theologiam', quam in diem absolvi vulgarique promittis; coememus magnum modum, precipue si de adorandis divinis oratione dominica non nihil tractet; nam nos id vetuimus, perque iuventutem nostram plebs haud immerito solidius firmaretur altero etiam teste."

199 Letter from Zwingli to Rhenanus, June 25, 1519, Z VII, p. 190.

200 Letter from Rhenanus to Zwingli, July 2, 1519, Z VII, p. 193.

201 Myconius (1979), p. 49: "Während er [so] fortfährt, wird Luthers Name täglich berühmter, und seine Schriften sind in aller Händen. Zwingli selbst hielt sich von ihnen fern, aber doch so, dass er die Seinen von der Kanzel treulich ermunterte, sie zu kaufen und zu lesen. Mit Absicht! Er wollte, dass das Volk auf Grund der Erkenntnis, dass er selbst mit Lesen zurückhaltend sei, aus Predigt und Lektüre die Gleichartigkeit, ja die Einheit des Geistes bei ihnen beiden sehe, geschöpft aus der Heiligen Schrift, und dann der Wahrheit umso lieber anhänge und gehorche, obwohl sie offenbar dem Altgewohnten zuwiderliefe. Auf diesem Wege ergab sich rasch ein wunderbarer Erfolg."

202 Goeters (1985), p. 130.

others.”²⁰³ To what extent his reading of Luther influenced Zwingli's final Reformation breakthrough in 1520 will probably never be precisely clear.

The tragic and exceptionally momentous rupture between the two heads of the Reformation in the German-speaking world took place in 1526, caused by the dispute on the Lord's Supper. Zwingli was well informed on this subject and owned publications by writers from both sides of the argument (Brenz, Bucer, Bugenhagen, Luther, Melanchthon, Osiander, Oecolampadius etc.). That Zwingli as well as Luther was able to get heated about the matter is apparent from a letter which Zwingli wrote on 6th May 1527 to the Nuremberg reformer Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), in which he calls the Lutheran reformer Andreas Althamer (ca. 1500–1539) a donkey.²⁰⁴

The third faction with whom Zwingli crossed theological swords was the Anabaptist movement, whose leaders Felix Mantz and Conrad Grebel were also members of his Hebrew and Greek circles. The tension became increasingly pronounced between the two parties and resulted in at least six death sentences being passed in Zürich from the year 1527.²⁰⁵ Zwingli owned not only the writings of the so-called Swiss Brethren, whose creed is set out in the *Schleitheim Confession* of 1527 (no. A 230), but also had texts by other Baptist leaders with different teachings, such as Balthasar Hubmaier (about 1485–1528), Hans Denck (ca. 1500–1527), Ludwig Hätzer (ca. 1500–1529) and Caspar Schwenckfeld (1490–1561).

It is curious that many of the polemical works from Zwingli's library mentioned in this chapter are now lost. Since they were also absent from the abbey library of the Grossmünster, and therefore would not have been duplicated the stock, it must be assumed that someone deliberately removed them. This was either Zwingli himself, who would not have valued these heretical works, or someone else acting out of similar motives, perhaps the librarian Conrad Pellikan.

203 Huldrych Zwingli: Auslegung und Begründung der Thesen oder Artikel 1523, in: ZS, vol. 2, p. 177 f.: “Ich will nicht, dass die Pöpstler mich lutherisch nennen, denn ich habe die Lehre Christi nicht von Luther gelernt, sondern aus dem Wort Gottes selbst. Wenn Luther Christus predigt, macht er dasselbe wie ich, obgleich durch ihn—gottlob—unzählbar viel mehr Menschen zu Gott geführt werden als durch mich und andere ...”

204 Z IX, p. 130.

205 Leu and Scheidegger (2007).

3 History

Zwingli was a great lover of historical works. His private library contained some of the greatest historiographical achievements of classical antiquity and Renaissance-humanism by Caesar, Diodorus, Robert Gaguin, Herodotus, Flavius Josephus, Justin, Pomponius Laetus, Livy, Plutarch, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Antonius Sabellicus, Sallustius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Thucydides and Valerius Maximus. His thorough knowledge of eminent historians is demonstrated in a letter he wrote probably on July 30th 1526 to an unknown recipient: "In the first book [by the historian Sallustius] you will learn of the audacity, tricks and vanity of certain people and see where bribery through gifts can lead; in others, you will see what generosity can do and what pleases those who have been bribed with money. You should also acquaint yourself with Valerius Maximus because of his range of examples. These should be memorised as soon as possible because they are pithy, easy to understand and will greatly enhance your ability to express yourself in Latin (which you have already mastered quite well). After these beginner's lessons, you will be better prepared to read Titus Livy, a rich fount of historical knowledge. At the beginning of your studies you ought to read Plutarch's life stories and, as soon as time permits, take a quick look at Suetonius and Herodianus, along with Vopiscus and others who will paint you an accurate picture of good princes as well as of tyrants: that will surely be profitable to you. The turmoil of civil wars, the struggles between allies and those who have been ostracised, are all described by Appianus Alexandrinus, a writer who is very enjoyable to read. He is concise and knows how to combine different things so cleverly that you cannot put him down. If you have time, it cannot hurt to read the Sicilian Diodorus for his ancient history and Robert Gaguin for his French history. You have probably already read the dictator Julius Caesar. Pliny and Gellius contain much to enrich you. Quintus Curtius, a very fine writer, will also profit you a great deal. I will not remind you of Josephus because you will find most of what he has produced in the Holy Scriptures, with the exception of the Jewish War: you should read him first and foremost, for he is the writer who demonstrates that we should never shun God's mercy and should never invoke his wrath. It may not be advisable to recommend Greek literature to you, considering your age and your health, although I used to read the Greek writers in my spare time (with no other literature do I feel so comfortable) but I will make a note of what may be useful and send it to you later."²⁰⁶

206 z VIII, p. 677 f.: "In quorum priore [libro Sallustii] discas impotentium quorundam hominum audaciam, artes, ambitionem, et quo munere corruptela tendat; in altero, quid possit largitio, quidque audeant, qui pecuniis corrupti sunt. Habebis et Valerium Maximum familiarem propter exemplorum promptitudinem. Istos confestim absorbebis, quod

In these lines Zwingli praises the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37–100), whose works he had bought from his predecessor in Glarus, Johannes Stucki (no. 113). We know from a note on sheet 146r that he must have read the book in 1508 or later (ill. 14). Where Josephus discusses the division among the Jews during Pilate's reign in *De antiquitatibus* (XVIII, 1), Zwingli noted that this situation also pertained to the Swiss confederate population in the years 1507/08. He is referring here to the dissension around the Milanese wars, where Swiss mercenaries fought on opposing sides, with the French and with the Milanese.²⁰⁷ As Zwingli still used the “d” without the downward stroke in most of the marginal glosses here, these annotations must date from the years 1508 to 1510 when he was based in Glarus.

At least one marginal note contains autobiographical information. Josephus refers to Genesis 24 (f. 7r) where Isaac's servant sees Rebecca at the well and she gives him to drink. Zwingli recalls being a young man at Vienna university and coming home to visit his parents. Unlike Isaac's servant, he did not receive hospitality on his journey: “Here I remember a Godless woman near Lindau, who would not let me enter her house when I was travelling home from Vienna, even though I could barely stand on account of the perishing cold and was at the end of my strength, almost in despair.”²⁰⁸

et breves sunt et dilucidi, ac sermonem Latinum (cuius mediocrem modum hausisti) vehementer locupletabunt, ut his incunabulis imbutus ad Titi Livii historiarum immensum flumen instructor accedas. Inter primos quoque habebis Plutarchi vitas. Mox ubi nactus eris ocium, Suetonium quoque et Herodianum percurres, cum Vopisco et aliis, qui bonorum principum simul ac tyrannorum imaginem sic tibi adumbrabunt, ut prorsus sis plurimum lucri ad propositum argumentum facturus. Appianus Alexandrinus tumultus bellorum civilium, socialium ac proscriptionum deformabit, autor supra modum ad legendum iucundus; brevis enim cum sit, res tamen gravissimas sic connectit, ut, qui legere coeperit, desinere nesciat. Proderit, si quando vacat, Diodorum Siculum quoque legisse propter vetustatem, et Robertum Gaguinum propter res Francicas. Caesarem dictatorem arbitror te olim legisse. Habent Plinius et Gellius multa, quibus argumenti huius penum locupletare possis. Quintus quoque Curtius rem iuvabit autor tersissimus. Iosephum non commemoro, quod pleraque in sacris literis invenias, quae iste conguessit, praeter bellum Iudaicum; id vero cum primis leges: plurimum enim valebit ad deterrendum, ne misericordiam dei perpetuo contemnamus ac tantum iram thesaurisemus. Graecos autores, cum propter aetatem ac valetudinem forsitan inconsultum sit ad Graecas literas adhortari, cum ipse per ocium revolve (nullibi enim literarum libentius versor), adsignabo, quae huius sunt instituti, ac, dum est occasio, mittam.”

207 Z XII, p. 381f.: “Sententia, que iam anno cepta 1507 et nondum finita inter confoedertos anno 1508, illa tamen intrinsecus (non verberibus propalata vel manuum consertione) musitata est.”

208 Z XII, p. 372: “Recordor hic mulieris rustice impieque, que dum ab universitate Wiennensi repedationem facerem in patriam frigore lentum desperatumque fere a foco secluit iam pene deficientem circa Lindow civitatem.”

DE ANTIQUITATIBVS

XXIII

fecit si aliqua huiusmodi passione circa colore ipse aut multitudo que cum eo erat uexaretur de istis meliora facere nullumque detrimentum huiusmodi passionibus cogebatur inferre. Sed palam equo modo hec de nobis inuidia concitatur loquuntur. Moyses autem ab his mundus existens etiam mundis contribulibus constitutus de languentibus hoc modo sancit: & hoc pro dei honore decreuit. Sed de his eadem uniuersis cogitet ut uoluerit. Mulieres uero quando parunt intrare in templum prohibuit: sacrificia contingere non permisit uis ad quadragesimum diem: masculus sit qui parietur: duplicibus diebus si feminam generat contingit. Ingressus ergo post predictae dilationis tempus sacrificia celebrabunt: quae sacerdotes sollemniter deo distribuunt. Si quis adulteram suam suspicatur uxorem: offert farinam ordeaceae assarium: & unum pugillum ex ea mittens in altare: reliquum dat sacerdotibus ad edendum. Mulierum uero constitutis aliquis sacerdotum ad ianuam quae sunt conuersae ad templum: & uelamen capitis eius detrahens: super scribi in membrano dei uocabulum iubeat ipsamque iurare nihil uiro nocuisse: nec pudicitiae uinculum disrupisse: quod si commisit: ut scemore dextro disincto uterog putrefacto moriatur: si uero amore nullo & huius rei zelo petulanter maritus hac suspitione mouetur: ut mense decimo ei puer masculus generetur: perfectoque iureiurando dei nomine diluens e membrana in phiala exprimat: sumensque terram de templo circa parietem iacentem: & superasperges mulierem dabit bibendum. Illa uero si quidem iniuste accusata est: concipit: & puer eius nutritur in utero: osi autem de thoro maritali mentitur etiam deorum consilio uitam relinquit sustinebit. Nam & foemur eius putrefcit: & uenter uertitur in hydropem. Et de sacrificiis quidem & purgationibus eorum moyses contribulibus suis ita prospectat: leges autem eis tales exposuit. Ad ultimum quidem omnino prohibuit: foelicitissimum esse credens: uiro circa thori esse securos: & ciuitatibus simul & domibus expedire filios esse ueraces. Sed & matribus misceri tamquam malum maximū lex negauit. Similiter uxori paterna & nunticibus & uxoris: & sororibus coire quemquam filiorum tamquam prauis iniusticiam nimis odit. Prohibuit autem & mulieri naturaliter polluta misceri: & iumentis & masculis: eo quod hac libido nequissima uideat: ut & aduersus eos qui hac praesumit: mortis supplicium prouenire decreuit. Sacerdotum uero duplicem fecit purgationem. Nam & ab istis similiter eos abstulit: & super haec neq meretrices neq concubinas eos habere permisit: neq ancillanasque captiuae esse habere uoluit: sed eas quae de cauponibus & pandocibus uitam agunt: quae prius maritos habentes: pro causis quibuscumque dimissae sunt: ab eorum coniunctione prohibuit. Summum pontificem neq mortui uiui permiscuit uxorem habere: licet hoc alius concessisset: huic soli dedit habere uirginem eamque seruare. Unde neq ad mortuum sumus sacerdotes accedunt: reliqui non prohibentur solenni fratribus & paritibus & omnibus suis mortuis exhibere: quos esse oportet simplices: omni uera simplicitate. Qui inter sacerdotes interget non est: pauci quidem de oblationibus sacerdotis concessit ascendere autem ad altare in templum introire prohibuit. Hos itaq non solum circa sacrificia mundos: sed etiam circa coniugia & cultum suum studiosos & incalpabiles esse precepit. Ob quam causam stola sacerdotali uestis immaculata: & circa omnia mundi sunt: & sapientes existunt. Bibere unum donec stola uestis sint prohibentur: insuper & oues integras immolant: & in nullo pollutas. Haec igitur etiam in tempore uitae suae gesta tradidit moyses: quorum quaedam & in deserto degens adinuenit: quatenus dum terram chananeam perpererant: haec seruauerunt: deest ut anno septimo requiem terrae praecantab aratro & plantationibus sicut & ipsos septima die ab operibus cessare sancit: & ut quae sponte oriuntur de terrae: uolentibus in usum communia: & con tribulis & extraneis: nihilque ex eis seruarent. Hoc autem fieri post septimam annorum septimanam iussit: qui sunt anni quinquaginta: uocaturque ab haec reus hic annus quinquagesimus iubilaeus: in quo & debitorum a credito relaxantur: & serui liberi dimittuntur: quia dum essent contubili pro quadam transgressionem legum eos liberati fecerat & casti gaudi: mortemque sustinere prohibuit. Instante siquidem iubileo quod nomen sig nificat libertate restituant etiam agros antiquis dominis isto modo. Conueniunt uenditor agri simul & emptor: & reputantes fructus & expensas in agro factas fructus exuberantem compertas: uenditor recipit agrum. Cum uero expensae transcendant: hoc quod deest recipiens emptor: possessione discedit connumeratis scilicet ex equo fructibus & expensis prioribus possessoribus reddit agrum. Eandem legem uoluit etiam in domibus obtinere: quae per uicos quosque uenduntur. Nam de his quae in ciuitatibus uenundantur aliter definiuit. Si quidem aut equum impleatur annus recipiat pecuniam reddere domum cogit emptorem: si uero completus annus fuerit possessione confirmat emptori. Hanc igitur moyses legum constitutionem dum sub monte syna moraretur exercitus a deo cognouit: & haecbreis scriptam contradidit. Cum circa legislationem iam putaret ista faceret: ab exercitu militaris iura conuersus est: habens in animo bellicas ca uas attingere crepescit: principibus tribuum praeter tribum leuitum numerum pugnare ualentium perfectae cognoscere. Leuitae sacrae erant: & ministerio alio fungi non poterant. Examinatione itaq facta: inuenti sunt milia sexcenta & tria: & sexcenti quinquaginta qui potuissent arma producere: a uigesimo anno usque ad quinquagesimum. Pro leui tamen elegit inter principes tribum manasse filium ioseph: & ebrai

multos parientes

Vix suspensus uisus
phialaIndigna in interitus
sollicitudine deservientes

impropi natus pueri

miseri nati polluta sollicitudine

et quoniam a masculis

sollicitudine? meretrices a concubinis

et huiusmodi

et huiusmodi

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Zwingli's copy of Flavius Josephus also reveals some interesting insights into his understanding of history and of historiography. On f. 111v Zwingli summarises a passage in Josephus thus: "Historiarum scriptores quomodo scribere debeant" (how historians should write). Josephus says here (*De antiquitatibus*, XIV, 1): "Having related the history of Queen Alexandra and her death in the preceding book, we shall now speak of the events that followed immediately thereafter, keeping in mind one thing above all else, which is not to omit anything whether through ignorance or fault of memory. For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge."²⁰⁹

The most important passage for Zwingli was where Josephus says that the chief aim of an historian must be "accuracy" and "speaking the truth". A few pages on (f. 132v) Josephus criticises the Hellenistic historian Nicolaus of Damascus, a friend of Herod the Great (ca. 73–4 BC),²¹⁰ who did not aim for "accuracy" and for "speaking the truth", but who whitewashed over many evil aspects of Herod's life. Zwingli quoted a verse from the Roman poet Persius which he wrote in the "Prologue" to his *Satyræ*: "Quis expedit psittaco suum χαίρει?" Zwingli owned a copy of the "Satires", printed in 1505 (no. 145). The whole passage reads:

"Quis expedit psittaco suum chaere
picasque docuit verba nostra conari
magister artis ingenique largitor
venter negatas artifex sequi voces
quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi
corvos poetas et poetridas picas
cantare credas pegaseium nectar."

(Who equipped the parrot with his "Hello" and taught the magpie to attempt human speech? It was that master of expertise, that bestower of

²⁰⁹ Josephus (1998), p. 3.

²¹⁰ Sievers (2015), pp. 164–174.

talent, the belly—an expert at copying sounds denied by nature. Just let the prospect of deceitful money gleam and you'd think raven poets and poetess magpies were chanting the nectar of Pegasus.)²¹¹

Here Persius criticises the venality of poets and Zwingli comments that even historians can be corruptible like the aforementioned Nicolaus of Damascus. Generally speaking Josephus found Greek historians problematic, as he expressed at the beginning of *Contra Apionem*.

He attacks Greek historiography for repeatedly claiming that the Jewish people cannot be as ancient as Jewish tradition purports because the Jews are only mentioned fairly late in the Greek sources. Josephus does not want to align himself with this attack on Jewish historiography. His retort is that the Greek historical heritage is full of mistakes and their love of the truth is not always a given: “My first thought is one of intense astonishment at the current opinion that, in the study of primeval history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention, that the truth should be sought from them, and that neither we nor any others in the world are to be trusted. In my view the very reverse of this is the case, if, that is to say, we are not to take idle prejudices as our guide, but to extract the truth from the facts themselves. For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern, and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent, or nearly the most recent, of all their attainments is care in historical composition. On the contrary, as is admitted even by themselves, the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians—for the moment I omit to add our nation to the list—possess a very ancient and permanent record of the past. For all these nations inhabit countries which are least exposed to the ravages of the atmosphere, and they have been very careful to let none of the events in their history be forgotten, but always to have them enshrined in official records written by their greatest sages. The land of Greece, on the contrary, has experienced countless catastrophes, which have obliterated the memory of the past; and as one civilization succeeded another the men of each epoch believed that the world began with them. They were late in learning the alphabet and found the lesson difficult; for those who would assign the earliest date to its use pride themselves on having learnt it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus. Even of that date no record, preserved either in temples or on public monuments, could now be produced; seeing that it is a highly controversial and disputed question whether even

211 Juvenal and Persius (2004), p. 45.

those who took part in the Trojan campaign so many years later made use of letters, and the true and prevalent view is rather that they were ignorant of the present-day mode of writing. Throughout the whole range of Greek literature no undisputed work is found more ancient than the poetry of Homer. His date, however, is clearly later than the Trojan war; and even he, they say, did not leave his poems in writing. At first transmitted by memory, the scattered songs were not united until later; to which circumstance the numerous inconsistencies of the work are attributable. Again, the Greeks who [first] essayed to write history, such as Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos and any later writers who are mentioned, lived but a short time before the Persian invasion of Greece."²¹²

Zwingli's note in the margin (f. 170r) to this critical analysis of Greek historiography was: "Huius meminit sententie Beroaldus, indicans grecas historias incuria ac negligentia primum, dein animo honoris cupido in scribendis historiis falsificatas" (Beroaldus reminds us of this opinion, claiming that the Greeks misrepresented history through negligence and carelessness as much as through hybris).²¹³ Zwingli was reminded here of a passage he had read in the *Oratio in Titum Livium et Sylvium Italicum* by the Italian humanist Philip Beroaldus (no. 23) which also alludes to the lies in Greek historiography.

If we leaf through Zwingli's copy of Josephus, we come across further interesting sections like the passage in *De bello judaico* where Josephus quotes from a speech by Herod (f. 193r): "Do not let the convulsions of inanimate nature disturb you or imagine that the earthquake is a portent of a further disaster. These accidents to which the elements are subject have physical causes, and beyond the immediate injury inflicted bring no further consequences to mankind. A pestilence, a famine, subterranean commotions may possibly be preceded by some slighter premonition, but these catastrophes themselves are limited by their very magnitude to their instant effects."²¹⁴

Zwingli underlined the sentence: "Naturalia nanque sunt elementorum quoque vitia" (These accidents, to which the elements are subject, have physical causes). In this way, Zwingli demonstrates that he shares Herodes' and thus Josephus' understanding of the natural world. He does not always suspect that God's judgement or evil intent are the cause of natural disasters. We encounter this same enlightened view in other writings by Zwingli²¹⁵ which, combined

²¹² Josephus (2004), p. 165 and 167.

²¹³ Z XII, p. 383.

²¹⁴ Josephus (1927), p. 177.

²¹⁵ Zwingli dismissed it as a fable and a lie just as the story from the monastery Oetenbach concerning the statue of Mary on being moved would re-appear each time in their original location the next day. Cf. Farner (1954), vol. 3, p. 489 f.

with the biblicism of the Reformation, can be seen as paving the way for modern scientific thinking, as exemplified in the work of Zwingli's intellectual pupil Conrad Gessner (1516–1565).²¹⁶

We find interesting annotations by Zwingli not only in Flavius Josephus' work, but also in the writings of other eminent historians. Thus, the notes in Titus Livius' *Decades* (no. 124) inform us that Zwingli was an avid user of the monastery library in Einsiedeln. Zwingli refers here at least three times (f. C₃v; f. c₈r and f. Ff₂v) to the *Annotationes liviani* by Antonius Sabellicus (1436–1506). He did not have a personal copy of this work in his collection but it was available to him through two copies held in the monastery library of Einsiedeln.²¹⁷ In addition, there is a reference to the *Aulularia* by Plautus, which he also did not own but could consult in the monastery library.²¹⁸

Zwingli studied not only ancient history but was also open to the questions and concerns of contemporary history such as the “Act yetz den Xiiii. day Marcij” by Oswald Glaidt, containing the seven articles of Austerlitz upon which the Utraquists and the Protestants had agreed on March 14th 1526 (no. 94).²¹⁹ Publications on the auxiliary historical sciences were also to be found in Zwingli's library as evidenced by titles of the Venerable Bede (no. 22) or Lodovico Ricchieri (no. 168). And Zwingli's collection of history books also included the first humanist history of the world by Sabellicus from the Creation to the year 1504 (no. 169).²²⁰

4 Science and Medicine

In 1525, commenting on the mathematical sciences in his book *Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sint*, Zwingli wrote: “The mathematical disciplines, including music, should not, in my opinion, simply be looked down upon as long as they are studied only briefly ... However, if someone devotes their entire life to them, they will have no more benefit than someone who

²¹⁶ Leu (2016).

²¹⁷ Antonius Sabellicus: *Annotationes liviani*, in: Titus Livius: *Romanae decades* ..., Paris 1513 (shelf mark: Jnc 674[180]); or in: Titus Livius: *Historiae Romanae decades* ..., Paris 1511 (shelf mark: Jnc 675[181]). Cf. InkEi, p. 511 f.

²¹⁸ Titus Maccius Plautus: *Aulularia* ..., Strasbourg [c. 1510] (shelf mark: Jnc 362[991]); Titus Maccius Plautus: *Aulularia* ..., Strasbourg 1511 (shelf mark: Jnc 752[994]). Cf. InkEi, p. 207 and 574.

²¹⁹ Rothkegel (2005), p. 127 f.; cf. Hubmaier (1962), p. 36 and 59.

²²⁰ Vgl. Eduard Fueter: *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, Zürich 1985 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe: München 1935), pp. 33–35.

just dips into them now and again to break the monotony.”²²¹ This sentiment is reflected in Zwingli's library where various titles on mathematics, natural sciences and medicine were stocked, without him having engaged comprehensively with them throughout his entire life. Zwingli's positive attitude towards these subjects probably dates from his student days in Vienna: in 1501 Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) founded the *Collegium poetarum et mathematicorum* which was to institutionalise these new disciplines after the model of the Academy founded in Rome by Julius Pomponius Laetus (1428–1498). Four professorial chairs for Poetics, Rhetoric, Mathematics and Astronomy were instigated. Mathematics and Astronomy had already been promoted by the teaching of Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461) and Johannes Regiomontanus (1436–1476). The initiator and first president of the new *Collegium* was Conrad Celtis (1459–1508).²²² It is therefore not surprising to find a *Calendarium* by Regiomontanus (no. 163) in Zwingli's collection, as well as other writings on astronomy, geometry and mathematics by Johannes de Sacrobosco (1195–1256, no. 108), Nicolaus de Orbellis (ca. 1400–1475, no. 139) or Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples whose *Introductio in arithmetica Boethii* from 1507 Zwingli quickly acquired. Lefèvre d'Étaples was not only called the French Reuchlin, but was also regarded as the man who introduced Aristotle and, by implication, the Natural Sciences to France.²²³ Zwingli also considered music a mathematical science. He was known to be an excellent musician,²²⁴ although we only find one music publication in his library: a dedication copy of Glareanus' *Isagoge in Musicen* (no. 95).

Another important reason for Zwingli's interest in the natural sciences was his conviction that God had witnessed himself in nature. The creator is visible through the creation, as the Apostle Paul says in Romans 1. Zwingli's belief found its expression in the fact, that he underlined in Jerome's commentary on the biblical book of Daniel the following sentence: “Omnis autem creatura non voce, sed opere laudat dominum, quia ex creaturis consequenter creator intelligitur: et in singulis operibus atque effectibus dei magnificentia demonstratur” (All nature praises God not by words, but by works, because through the creatures the Creator can be recognized; and through the individual works and powers the greatness of God is proved).²²⁵

221 Huldrych Zwingli: Wie Jugendliche aus gutem Haus zu erziehen sind, in: ZS, vol. 1, p. 234 f.

222 Maisel (2017), p. 40 f.

223 Schönau (2017), p. 53 f.

224 Reimann (1960).

225 Jerome, Opera, vol. 5, Basle 1516, f. 271r (no. 98).

Aristotle occupies an important place in Zwingli's library. He owned the first printed edition of Aristotle's works in Greek, published between 1495 and 1498 in Venice by Aldus Manutius, which represents a milestone in the history of science in the West (no. 9). Analysing Zwingli's handwritten annotations, we can infer that he already owned this work before he came to Zürich. The few glosses in volume two indicate his pre-Zürich period, while those in volumes three and four most likely emanate from the early part of his time in Zürich: the change in the letter "d" which has been described above, occurred during the period when he was examining these volumes. He particularly studied and comprehensively annotated the *περί ζώων ιστορίας* (ill. 15). Many of his notes use the Latin translation of Greek names for animals, which Zwingli derived from the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Historia animalium* by Theodor Gaza, printed in 1513 in Venice (no. 10): "Zwingli hat den griechischen und lateinischen Text nebeneinander vor sich liegen gehabt, wiederholt gleichzeitig in beide Bände Einträge machend. Aber Zwingli hat Theodors Übersetzung mit Überlegung gelesen, hat sich gefragt, ob er wohl den gleichen Aristotelestext wie die Aldina vor sich gehabt habe, und hat diese Frage an nicht wenigen Stellen verneint."²²⁶ This work by Aristotle must have been very significant for Zwingli because, as early as January 1518,²²⁷ he was already looking for a separate edition of the text and planned to study it in the summer of 1519 with his Greek students.²²⁸

The second important authority on natural sciences for the Swiss Reformer was the Roman officer and scholar Pliny the Elder (23–79). He owned two editions of his *Naturalis Historia*: only the first, published in Lyon in 1510, has survived (no. 154). He repeatedly quoted Pliny as an authority on natural sciences, whether in his Bible commentaries²²⁹ or in other contexts where scientific facts are required. He once accused Luther of lacking scientific knowledge because he had either not read or not understood Pliny's exposition on the opal.²³⁰ On another occasion he recommends that the Lutherans Theobaldus Billicanus (about 1493–1554) and Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541) read Pliny in connection with the Lord's Supper: "Plinium legito!"²³¹

²²⁶ Z XII, p. 112.

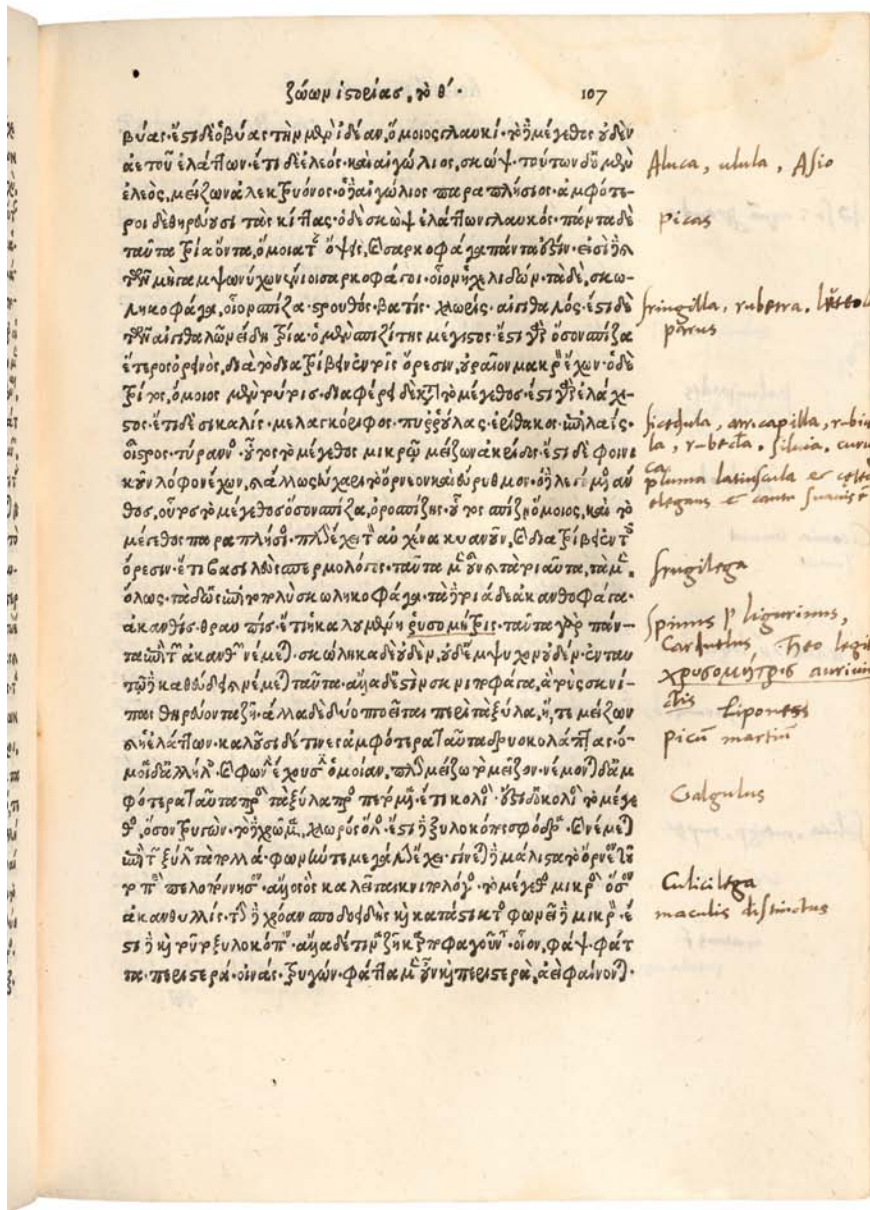
²²⁷ Letter from Conrad Brunner to Zwingli, January 26, 1518 (Z VII, p. 73).

²²⁸ Letter from Zwingli to Beatus Rhenanus, June 7, 1519 (Z VII, p. 181).

²²⁹ Cf. for example Zwingli's commentary on Isaiah: Z XIV, p. 236, 344, 348, 368, 392 etc.

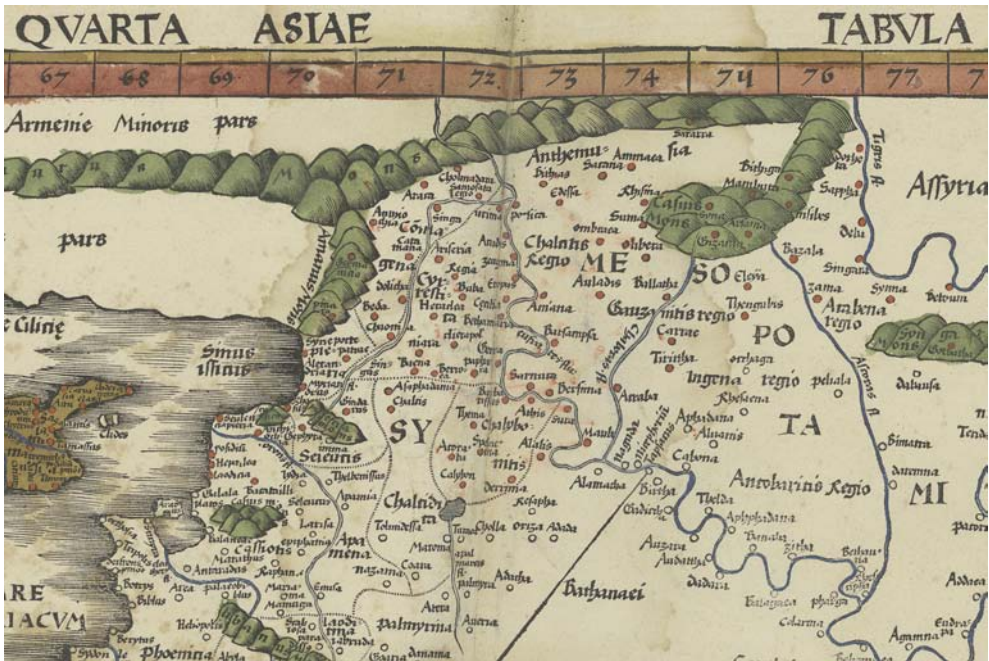
²³⁰ Johannes Oecolampadius and Huldrych Zwingli: Über D. Martin Luthers Buch, Bekenntnis genannt, zwei Antworten, in: Z VI/2, p. 168.

²³¹ Huldrych Zwingli: Ad Theobaldi Billicani et Urbani Rhegii epistolae responsio, in: Z IV, p. 925.



ILL. 15

Aristoteles: Opera, Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1495–1498 (see no. 9) with copious handwritten annotations by Zwingli to the *Historia animalium* and various forms of his “d” (vol. 3, f. 107r)



ILL. 16 Claudius Ptolemaeus: *Atlas orbis terrarum*, [Strasbourg, ca. 1520]. Zwingli used this or another copy of Ptolemaeus at the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich for his study of the Old Testament (ZBZ, call number: IV zz 9).

It is valuable to have geographical knowledge in order to study the Bible. Zwingli procured this with the aid of the ancient geographers Strabo, Pomponius Mela and Claudius Ptolemy.

A letter from Glareanus in Cologne addressed to Zwingli from 13th July 1510, reveals that, due to the wars in Northern Italy, Glareanus was unable to send an atlas by Ptolemy to Zwingli in the remote area of Glarus.²³² Zwingli was, however, later able to consult this work in the abbey library in Zürich which held four copies of it.²³³ At the beginning of his commentary to Ezekiel, he refers to a map by Ptolemy showing the course of the Babylonian river *Chaboras* mentioned in Hes. 11 (ill. 16).²³⁴

Zwingli was also able to use medical texts from the abbey library in Zürich as his annotations in *De curatione pestiferorum apostematum* by Rolandus Capellatus (no. 47) or in the *Tractatus de vino et eius proprietate* (no. 183) demonstrate.

²³² Z VII, p. 1.

²³³ Germann (1994), no. 242, 566, 639 and 769.

²³⁴ Z XIV, p. 687.

In Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) *De triplici vita* (no. 88), the first book entitled *De vita sana* looks at the subject of healthy living for scholars. Heinrich Bullinger formulated similar ideas in his *Ratio studiorum*, so he may have also used this or a similar work.²³⁵ The second book *De vita longa* is also dedicated to the subject of health and longevity. In both books from the abbey library we find occasional marginalia by Zwingli.²³⁶ Book three *De vita coelitus comparanda* deals with astrological and magical connections between the macrocosm and man as a microcosm. There are no annotations by Zwingli in this work. Conrad Gessner stated in his *Bibliotheca universalis* that the third book of Ficino's works contains numerous superstitious and astrological statements, perhaps explaining why Zwingli seems not to have read it.²³⁷ This work indeed resulted in Ficino's being accused of heresy: "Er betrachtete die astrologischen Kenntnisse in der Medizin als konstitutiven Bestandteil, denn wenn die Kräfte des Himmels richtig bei der Herstellung von Arzneimitteln und Talismanen verwendet werden, ergibt sich der gleiche Unterschied in der Wirkungsweise der 'astrologischen' Heilmittel zu den 'nicht-astrologischen', wie der qualitative Unterschied zwischen der therapeutischen Verwendung von Wein und Wasser auch ist."²³⁸

It was a coincidence which brought German physician Janus Cornarius' (1500–1558) work *In Hippocratis laudem praefatio ante eiusdem prognostica* (no. A 42) into Zwingli's possession. On 15th October 1528 Cornarius applied unsuccessfully to Zwingli for employment in Zürich.²³⁹ It seems that he sent him his short *Praefatio* which Zwingli then passed on to Christoph Clouser († 1552) who went on to become the town physician for Zürich in 1531. At the beginning of December 1528 Clouser asked Zwingli if he would like his *Praefatio* back, giving him at the same time Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* containing an elaborate preface by Cornarius (no. A 43).²⁴⁰

We have explored the main subjects to be found in Zwingli's library but this should not obscure the fact that various other disciplines were also represented in it, such as Architecture with *De architectura* by Vitruvius (no. 188), the Legal Sciences with the *Lucubrationes* by Ulrich Zasius (1461–1535, no. 189) and Politics with *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–1180, no. 112). The book contains a political theory of the Middle Ages with substantial critical remarks, not at least against the clergy.²⁴¹

235 Bullinger (1987), vol. 2, p. 56.

236 Probably not all handwritten marginalia are from Zwingli.

237 Gessner (1545), f. 499r.

238 Benesch (1977), p. 105.

239 Z IX, pp. 573–575.

240 Z IX, p. 606 f.; Köhler (1937), p. 459.

241 Miczka (1970), p. 19 f., 169 and 190 f.

Catalogue

Many or most of the volumes have handwritten annotations by various persons. The following descriptions of the titles mention only annotations by Zwingli as proof, that the book belonged to him or was used by him.

The volumes with the call numbers III B 52, III B 128 and III O 173: b contain several works from Zwingli's library.¹ The bindings were ordered by Zwingli or the librarian of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, Conrad Pellican, who wrote for example the table of contents for volume III O 173: b. If the bindings had been made after Zwingli's death, then it could be that a couple of titles would not have belonged to his library, but that Pellican had bound them together with items from Zwingli's library into one volume. In the case of III B 52 and III B 128 this does not matter, because nearly all the titles are publications by Zwingli, which he certainly knew. Only the following texts from these omnibus volumes are questionable whether they belonged to Zwingli or perhaps not: 5, 6, 30, 31, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179.

Finally it should be noted that all titles held by the ZBZ are available in digitized form at the following internet address: www.e-rara.ch/pbhzwingli/nav/classification/17174539.

1 Imprints

1 Adriani, Matthäus

LIBELLVS HORA FACIENDI || pro domino scilicet filio uirginis || Marię cuius
mysterium in || prologo legēti patebit ||

4°. [18] l.: ill. Signatures: [A]–C⁴, D⁶

Printer's device

Colophon: Tubingę in ædibus Thomę || Anshelmi Badensis || Anno domini ||
.M.D.XIII. || Mense Ianuario. ||

Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1513

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; VD 16 A 295

Author from f. D₄recto

1 Numbers 5, 6, 30, 31, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202.

Incorrectly bound. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 4, 7, 16, 21, 35, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 35₀₆

2 Aesopus

FABVLARVM QVAE || hoc libro continentur in||terpretes atq3 autho||res. || Sunt hi || Guilielmus Goudanus || Hadrianus Barlandus || Erasmus Roterodamus, || Aulus Gellius || Angelus Politianus || Petrus Crinitus || Ioannes Antonius Campanus || Plinius Secundus Nouocomësis || Aesopi Vita ex Max. Pla||nude excerpta. || IN LIBERA ARGENTINA. ||

4°. [36] l. Signatures: []⁴, A⁴, B⁸, C⁴, D–E⁸

Title page border

Contributors: Adrian van Baarland; Johannes Antonius Campanus; Pietro Crinito; Martinus Dorpius; Desiderius Erasmus; Aulus Gellius; Guilelmus de Gouda; Angelo Poliziano; Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus

Colophon: Argentorati. ex Aedibus Schurerianis, Mense De||cembri. Anno a Christo nato. M.D.XV. ||

Strasbourg: *Mathias Schürer*, 1515

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 39; Köhler, no. 134; VD 16 A 449

With marginalia in Zwingli's hand to *De patre et filiis* (f. B₈v) and *De vulpe et aquila* (f. C₂v). Handwriting before July 1519. Cf. Z XII, p. 291f. Like Luther, Zwingli also appreciated Aesopus. He quoted the *Fabulae* several times in his letters and works.²

Leather binding of the period by the so called "Laus Deo 11"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 68, 69, 165 and 184.

III M 814

3 Albertus Magnus

De muliere forti

Liber de muliere || forti venerabilis domini Alberti magni. Ordinis fratrũ predicatoꝝ quõdã episcopi Ratisponeñ. materias çtinẽs frugi||feras. varijs sacre scripture documentis fulcitas. predicato||ribus verbi dei ac sancte contemplationis arcem diligenti-||bus maxime proficuas || ... ||

4°. [160] l.

Contributor: Rudolf von Langen

² For example in: Z III, p. 109, 249; Z VII, p. 73, 323; Z IX, p. 118, 172.

F. dd₃verso: ... || Epitaphion || Jllustris magnificus dñs Rodolphus Langius ec-
||clesie Monasteriensis canonicus. Nulli hac tempestate in || ... ||

F. x₅verso: ... || Jmpressus Colonie op[er]a atq3 impensis ho||nesti viri henrici
Quentell ciuis eiusdem. Nonis maij. An||no domini Millesimo quadringen-
tesimo nonagesimonono ||

Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1499

Bibl. reference: GW 699

Annotated by Zwingli before July 1519 (f. b_{4v}: “pondus”; f. p_{1r}: “Est risus potes-
tatis glaronensis”). On f. a_{1r} Zwingli underlined the reference on *Ecclesiastes*
7:29b: “I have found a man among thousand, but I have not found a woman
among them all.”

Incorrectly bound. Leaves 1–25 are bound after leaf 160.

Pigskin binding of the period with single stamps: “Knospenstaude” EBDB
s000380 = Kyriss 139.01, “Rautengerank” s000381 = Kyriss 139.03 (unknown
workshop). Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 88, 138 and 139.

Ink K 321

4 Aleander, Hieronymus

Elementale introductorium || in Nominum, & Verborum decli=||nationes Græ-
cas. || Græcas dictiones cum eorū characteribus, || accentibus, ac vocum
moderamen||tis, hic insertas offendes. || ITEM || Hieronymi Aleandri Mot-
tensis tabulæ, sane || vtiles Græcarum Musarum adyta com||pendio ingredi
cupientibus. || LECTOR EME, LEGE, || ET GAVDEBIS. ||

4°. [16] l. Signatures: A–D⁴

Colophon: Argentorati, Ex Aedibus Schurerianis, || Mense Martio, ANN. || M.
D. XIII. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1514

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; VD 16 A 1702

Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 7, 16, 21, 35, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 350₉

5 Althamer, Andreas

Von dem Hochwirtigen Sacrament || des leibs vñ blüts vnsers Herren || Jesu
Christi/ Wider die jrzi||gen gayster/ so vns das || nachtmal des Her=||ren zû
nicht=||tigen. || Durch Andream Althamer. || M D XXVI. ||

4°. [14] l. Signatures: a–b⁴, c², d⁴

Title page woodcut

Imprint according to VD 16: Augsburg: Melchior Rammingner

Augsburg: Melchior Rammingner, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 2; VD 16 A 2037

On January 14, 1527, Petrus Gynoräus from Augsburg sent two small adversarial writings to Zwingli, one was written by Althamer, the other by Thomas Murner (z ix, p. 15). On May 6, 1527 Zwingli called Althamer a donkey (z ix, p. 130).

Binding from the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b₆

6 Althamer, Andreas

Von der || Erbsund das sye der || Christen kynder gleich als || wol verdamb als der || heyden. || Vnd von dem heyligen Tauff || ob er die Erbsund hynweg nem. || Durch Andream Althamer. ||

4°. [24] l. Signatures: A–F⁴

Title page border

Colophon: Getruckt zů N[ue]renberg durch Fridrich || Pepypus. Jm. M.D.XXvij. ||

Nürnberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1527

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; VD 16 A 2039

Binding from the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b₅

7 Andrelinus, Publius Faustus

P. FAVSTI ANDRELINI || Foroliuiensis, Poetæ & Oratoris || clarissimi, De virtutibus cū || moralibus, tum intel-||lectualibus, Car=||mẽ dignissi||mum. || Eiusdem Elegiæ quædam || castiores, sanctioresq3.

4°. [24] l. Signatures: a⁸, b⁶, c⁴, d⁶

Printer's device

Contributor: Beatus Rhenanus

Colophon: ... Mathias Schüre=||rius Helueticus, stamneis vsus || calamis Argentoraci || excripsit. || Mense Februrio. || Anno. || M. D. VIII. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1508

Bibl. reference: Germann no. 47; VD 16 A 2798

Handwritten annotation by Zwingli on the title page (verso) before July 1519: “Crepundia”. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 16, 21, 35, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 35_{O2}

8 Antonius Lollius

Oratio habita in funere Philiberti cardinalis Matisconensis

F. [1]recto: Antonius Lollius geminianēsis Reuerendissimis dominis. R. || Uicecancellario. M. Sancti Marci. F. sancti Eustachij. S.R.E. || Cardinalibus. Executoribus bo.me.Car. Matisconeñ. S.P.D. || ... ||

F. [6]recto: ... || Anno. viij. pont. Maximo. Mens.i. Die. xxvij. Anno incarnata. do || M.cccc.lxxxiiij. ||

4^o. [6] l.

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; H 10178

Imprint according to Hain: Rome: Stephan Plannck

Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1484

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₅

9 Aristoteles

Opera

· ἜΙΣ ὈΡΓΑΝΟΝ ἈΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ · || · ἈΝΩΝΥΜΟΝ · || ... ||

2^o. 5 vols.: [234] l.; [32], 268 l.; [1], 457 [= 458], [9] l.; 226 [= 227] l.

Colophon (vol. 1): Impressum Venetiis dexteritate Aldi Manucii Romani. || Calendis nouembris. MCCCC.LXXXXV. || ... ||

Colophon (vol. 2): Excriptum Venetiis maniu stamnea í domo Aldi manutii Romani, & || græcorum studiosi. Mense Februario. M.III D. || ... ||

Colophon (vol. 5): Excriptum Venetiis in domo Aldi Manutii Calēdis Iunii. M. III D. || Et in hoc ipetratū ē a dominis Venetis quod ī cæteris nostris græce ipressis. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1495–1498

Bibl. reference: H 1657; Köhler, no. 8

Volume two contains annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, volumes three and four from the time before and after July 1519. Cf. Z XII, p. 112 ff.³ Bound in boards.

Ink K 255–259

³ See p. 28.

10 **Aristoteles**

HABENTVR HOC VOLVMINE HAEC THEO=||DORO GAZA INTERPRETE. || Aristotelis de natura animalium. lib. ix. || Eiusdem de partibus animalium. lib. iiii. || Eiusdem de generatione animalium. lib. y. || Theophrasti de historia plantarum. lib. ix. || Et decimi principium duntaxat. || Eiusdem de causis plantrum. lib. yi. || ... ||

2°. [12], 273, [17] l. Signatures: a¹², b–n⁸, o–p⁶, q–z⁸, A–M⁸, N⁶, O–P⁸

Printer's devices

Contributor: Paracelsus

Colophon: Venetiis In AEdibus Aldi, & || Andreæ Asulani Soceri || Mense Februario. || M.D.xiii. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1513

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 220; Index Aureliensis 107.809

With annotations by Zwingli. Froben bought the volume in 1518 at the Frankfurt book fair for him.⁴ Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

V E 21

11 **Aristoteles**

ARISTOTÉΛΟΥΣ Ἀπαντα. || ARISTOTELIS || SVMMI SEMPER VIRI, ET IN QVEM VNVM || uim suam uniuersam contulisse natura rerū uidetur, opera, quæcun[ue] impressa hactenus extiterunt omnia, || summa cum uigilantia excusa. || PER DES. ERAS. ROTERODAMVM ... || BASILEAE, APVD IO. BEB. || ANNO M. D. XXXI. ||

F. A₁recto: Ὁ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΥ ἈΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ, || ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ. || SECVNDVS TOMVS HAEC HABET. || ... ||

2°. 2 tomi ([8], 335, [1] l.; 253 [= 251], [1] l.). Signatures: α⁸, a–z⁸, aa–tt⁸; A–O⁸, P⁶, Q–Z⁸, AA–HH⁸, II⁶

Text and colophon Greek, introduction Latin

Printer's devices

Contributor: Desiderius Erasmus

Colophon on f. 115verso: Ἐτυπώθη ἡν Βασιλείᾳ ... || Ἰωαννῇ Βεβελίῳ ἔτει ... || ... χίλιος ᾧ πεντακοσιος ᾧ || [τρ]ιακοσῶ πρώτῳ θαργηλιων[ος] || τρισκαιδεκάτῃ. ||

Basle: Johannes Bebel, 1531

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 164; Index Aureliensis 107.928; Köhler, no. 9; VD 16 A 3279

⁴ See p. 12.

On the title page dedication from Simon Grynaeus to Zwingli: “D. Hvldricho Tvvinglio D.D. Grynaeus.” Binding by Christoph Froschauer’s bookbinder Michael Schwyzer.

V E 12

12 Athanasius Presbyter

ATHANASII || EPISCOPI ALEXANDRINI SANCTISSI=||MA ELOQVENTISSIMA QVE OPERRA || Rursum impressa, ac studiosissime emendata. || Commentarii in epistolas Pauli qui a quibusdam ad=||scribuntur Vulgario. || Contra gentiles Liber vnus. || De incarnatione Verbi, eiusq3 nos per corp[us] aduētu. || Disputatio contra Arrium. || In vim psalmodum opusculum. || Exhortatio ad Monachos. || De passione Imaginis domini nostri Libellus. || Epistolæ nonnullæ Romanorum Pōtificum ad Atha||nasium. & Athanasii ad eosdem. || Eiusdem Athansii de variis quēstionibus Liber. || Quē omnia olim iam latina facta Christophoro Por=||sena, Ambrosio Monacho, Angelo Politiano, Ioanne Ca||pnione interpretib[us]. vna cū doctissima Erasmi Roterod||ni ad pium lectorem paraclesi, & Athansii ipsius vita nu||per addita. ac recognita. || Vēnundantur ab Ioanne Paruo, in via diui Iacobi ad || signum lilii aurei Parisiis. || ... ||

2°. [6], CCCXLII [= 344], [12] l. Signatures: *6, a–z⁸, &⁸, A–T⁸, aa–bb⁶

Title page border, printer’s device

Contributors: Desiderius Erasmus; Christophorus Persona; Angelo Poliziano; Johannes Reuchlin; Ambrosius Traversarius

Colophon: ... Impēdio honestis||simi bibliopolæ, Ioannis Parui. Anno ab orbe redempto. M.D.XX. AD Idus Iu=||LIAS. ||

Paris: *Jean Petit*, 1520

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 176; Index Aureliensis 109.389; Köhler, no. 11

Few annotations by Zwingli to the commentary on the Pauline epistles. Cf. z XII, p. 134 f.

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 20.

III K 12₂

13 Augustinus Aurelius

Prima pars librorum || diui Aurelij Augustini quos edi=||dit cathecuminus: || De academicis: Libri. III. || De beata vita: Liber. I. || De ordine: Libri. II. || Soliloquiorum: Libri II. || De immortalitate anime: Liber. I. || De libris disciplinarū Grammatica || Cathegorie Aristotelis per || Augustinū translate || Principia Dialectice || Principia Rhetorice ||

Secūda pars librorū || diui Aurelij Augustini quos scri=||psit iam baptizatus: || De moribus ecclesie catholice: et de || moribus manicheorū: libri. II. || De

anime quantitate: liber. I. || De libero arbitrio: libri. III. || De Genesi cōtra manicheos: libri. II. cum conclu-||sionibus siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || De musica: libri. VI. || De magistro: liber. I. || De vera religione: liber. I. ||

Tertia pars librorum diui || Aurelij Augustini quos edidit presbyter || ordinatus: || De vtilitate credendi ad honoratū: liber. I. || De duabus animabus contra manicheos: liber. I. || Contra fortunatū quendā manicheorū presbyterū: liber. I. || De fide et symbolo: liber. I. || De Genesi ad litterā imperfectus: liber. I. || De sermone domini in monte: libri. II. || Contra partē donati psalmus. || Contra adimantū manichei discipulū: liber. I. || Expositionis quorundā propositionū ex || epistola pauli ad romanos: liber. I. || Expositionis epistole pauli ad Galathas: liber. I. || Expositionis epistole pauli ad romanos inchoate: liber. I. || De diuersis questionibus: liber. I. || cū cōclusionib[us] siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || Uigintiunius sententiarū siue questionū: liber. I. || cū conclusionib[us] siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || De mendacio ad consentiū: liber. I. ||

Quarta pars librorū diui || Aurelij Augustini quo siam episcopus || edidit: || De diuersis questionibus ad sanctum simplicianum: libri. II. || Contra epistolam manichei: quā vocant fundamenti: liber. I. || cū cōclubionib[us] siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || De agone christiano: liber. I. || De doctrina christiana: libri. IIII. || cū conclusionibus siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || Confessionum: libri. XIII. || cū conclusionibus siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || Contra faustum manicheū: libri. XXXIII. || Contra felicem manicheum: liber. I. || De natura boni aduersus manicheos: liber. I. || Contra secundinum manicheum: liber. I. || Questionum euangeliorum: libri. //. || cū conclusionib[us] siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. || Annotationum in iob: liber. I. || De cathezizandis rudibus ad deo gratias: liber. I. ||

Quinta pars librorū diui || Aurelij. Augustini quos scripsit episcop[us]: || De trinitate: libri. xv. cum conclusionibus || siue veritatibus francisci maronis. || De consensu euangelistarum: libri. IIII. || Contra Epistolā parmeniani donatistarū episcopi: libri. IIII. || De Baptismo contra donatistas. libri. VII. || Ad inquisitiones Januarij: libri II. || De opere monachorū: liber I. || De bono coniugiali contra Jouinianū: liber I. || De sancta virginitate: liber. I. || De Genesi ad litteram: libri. XII. cum conclu-||sionibus siue veritatibus francisi maronis. ||

Sexta pars librorum diui || Aurelij Augustini quos episcop[us] scripsit: || Contra litteras petiliani donatiste: libri. III. || Contra cresconiū grammaticū donatistam: libri. III. || De diuinatione demonum: liber. I. || De sex questionib[us] contra paganos ad deo gratias: liber. I. || De peccatorum meritis et remissione: ac de baptismo paruulorū || ad marcellinum: libri. IIII. || De vnico

baptismo cōtra petilianū donatistarū episcopū: liber. 1. || De gratia noui testamenti ad honoratū cōtra pelagianos: liber. 1. || De spiritu et littera ad marcellinum: liber. 1. || De fide et operibus: liber 1. || Breuiculi collationū cū donatistis: libri siue collationes. III. || Contra donatistas post collationem: liber. 1. || De vivendo deo ad paulinā: liber 1. cum quodam commonitorio || de hac re ad fortunatianū sicconsem episcopum. || De natura et gratia contra pelagianos: liber. 1. ||

Diui augustini librorum pars septima. || Libri de ciuitate dei. xxij. || Jn eosdem commētaria Thome valois et || Nicolai triueth: cum additionibus || Jacobi passauātij. Et theologice. veritates || Francisci maronis. ||

Octaua pars librorū diui || Aurelij Augustini quos episcop[us] edidit: || Ad orosium presbyterū hispanum contra || priscillianistas et origenistas: liber. 1. || De origine anime: et de sententia iacobi || apostoli/ ad beatum hieronymū: libri. II. || De correctione donatistarū ad bonifaciū: liber. 1. || De presentia dei ad dardanum: liber. 1. || Contra pelagium et celestiū de gratia christi || et peccato originali: libri. II. || De gestis cū emerito donatistarū episcopo: liber. 1. || Contra sermonem arrianorū: liber 1. || De nuptiis et concupiscentia ad valeriū: libri. II. || Locutionum: libri. VII. || Questionum: libri VII. || De anima et eius origine: libri. II. || De adulterinis coniugijs ad pollentiū: libri. II. || Cōtra aduersariū legis et prophetarū: libri. II. || Contra gaudentij donatistarū episcopi epl'as: libri. II. || Contra mendacium: liber. 1. || Contra duas epistolas pelagianorū: libri. III. || Contra iulianum: libri. VI. || Enchiridion ad laurentiū: liber. 1. || De cura pro mortuis gerenda ad paulinū: liber. 1. || De octo dulcitij questionibus: liber. 1. || De gratia et libero arbitrio ad valentinū: liber. 1. || De correptione et gratia: liber. 1. || Retractionū: libri. II. cum conclusionibus || siue veritatibus Francisci maronis. ||

Nona pars librorum diui || Aurelij Augustini quos non recenset in || libris Retractationū. || Expositionis || Jn euangelium s[ecundu]m Johannē: Tractatus. CXXIII. || Jn epistolam canonicam sancti Johannis: Tractatus. X. || Jn Apocalypsim eiusdem: Homilie. XVIII. ||

Decima pars librorū diui || Aurelij Augustini quorū nō meminit in || libris Retractationū: || Mediationum: liber. 1. De incarnatione verbi: libri. II. || Meditationum. liber alius. De trinitate et vnitate dei: liber. 1. || Soliloquiorū anime ad deum: li. 1. De fide rerū inuisibiliū: liber. 1. || ... ||

Undecima pars librorū di-||ui Aurelij Augustini quorū mentionem || non fecit in libris Retractationū: Questionū veteris et noui testamenti: liber. 1. || et in tres partes distinctus. || Questionū euangeliorū s[ecundu]m mattheū: liber. 1. || Questionū. LXV. dialogus ad orosium. || Questionū hilarij solutiones. || De heresibus ad quoduult deū: liber. 1. || De quinq3 heresibus: liber. 1. || Contra iudeos/ paganos et arrianos: liber. 1. || Aduersus iudeos: liber. 1. || De alterca-

tionē ecclesie et synagoge: dialogus. || De fide contra manicheos: liber. I. || Contra maximinū arrianorū episcopū: libri. III. || Contra felicianū arrianum: liber. I. || Contra petiliani donatiste epistolam: liber. I. || Contra fulgentiū donatistam: liber. I. || Ad articulos augustino falso impositos: responsio. || Contra pelagianos hyponosticon: libri. VI. || De perfectione iusticie contra celestium || pelagianum: liber. I. || Speculum augustini: liber. I. || De inquisitione trinitatis/ et alijs || quibusdam sententijs: liber. I. || De vera innocentia: liber. I. || De speculo: liber. I. qui alias intitulatur: manuale. || Psalterium augustini/ quod matri sue cōposuit. || Super magnificat canticū marie/ expositio. || Regule augustini tres. || Possidonius de vita augustini. ||

2°. [80] l.; [144] l.; [128] l.; [306] l.; [360] l.; [208] l.; [356] l.; [402] l.; [236] l.; [312] l.; [258] l. Signatures: a⁸b⁶–g⁸h⁶, i–m⁶; a⁸b⁶–i⁸k⁶, l⁶, m⁸n⁶–s⁸t⁶, v–x⁶; a⁸, b–c⁶, d⁸, e–h⁶, k⁸, l⁶, m–n⁶, o⁸, p–r⁶, s–v⁸; a⁸b⁶–s⁸t⁶, v–x⁸, a⁸, b⁶, c–f⁸, g–h⁶, i–k⁸, l⁶, m⁸, n⁶, o–p⁸, q¹⁰, [r omitted], s⁸, t–v⁶, U⁶, Uv⁶, x–y⁶; a–f⁸, g⁶, h⁸, i⁶, k⁸, K⁶, Kk⁶, l⁸, L–M⁶, m–o⁸, p⁶, q–r⁸, s–x⁶, y⁸, z⁶, A⁸, B–C⁶, D⁸, E⁶, F⁸, (G omitted), H–J⁸, K–N⁶, O⁸, P⁶, Q⁸, R–S⁶, T⁸, U–X⁶, Y⁸, Z⁶, Aa–Cc⁶; a⁸b⁶–l⁸m⁶, n⁶, (o–q omitted), r–t⁸ (s omitted), v⁶, x–y⁸, [et]⁸, A–B⁸, C⁸D⁶–G⁸H⁶, J⁶, K⁸; a⁸b⁶–i⁸k⁶, l⁶, m⁸, n–z⁶, A⁶B⁸–I⁶K⁸, L–M⁶, N–O⁸, P⁶Q⁸–R⁶S⁸, T–Y⁸, a⁸, b–y⁶; a⁸, b⁴, (c–d omitted), e–f⁶, g⁸, h⁶, hh⁶, i⁸, k⁶, l⁸, m–o⁸, p⁶q⁸–t⁶v⁸, x–z⁶, A⁸, B–D⁶, E⁸, F–G⁶, H⁸, I⁶, K⁸, L–N⁶, O⁸, P⁶, Pp⁸, Q⁸R⁶–Y⁸Z⁶, &⁸, Aa–Bb⁸, Cc⁸Dd⁶–Ji⁸kk⁶, Ll⁸; a⁸b⁶–x⁸y⁶, z⁶, A⁸, B–D⁶, E–F⁸, G–H⁶, I⁸, K⁶, L⁸; a⁸, b–c⁶, d⁸e⁶–h⁸i⁶, k⁶, l⁸, m⁶, n⁸, o–p⁶, q⁸, r–s⁶, t⁸, v⁶, x⁸, y⁶, z⁸, A⁸B⁶–C⁸D⁶, E–G⁸, H¹⁰, I⁶, K–M⁸, N⁶, O⁸, P–Q⁶, R⁸, S⁶, T–V⁸, X⁶; a⁸b⁶–g⁸h⁶, i–l⁶, m⁸h⁶–q⁸r⁶, s⁶, t⁸, v–x⁶, z⁶, A⁸B⁶–C⁸D⁶, E⁶F⁸–G⁶H⁸, I–L⁶, M⁸, N–O⁶, P⁸

Parts 1–3 are bound together. Not rubricated.

Contributors: Johannes Amerbach; Conradus Leontorius

Colophon: Ex officina nostra Basileæ: Anno a natali chri-||sto quingentesimo sexto/ uicesimasecunda die mensis Ianuarij. || Ioannes tres/ Amorbachius/ Petri/ & Froben/ ciues || basilienses expresserunt foeliciter. ||

Basle: Johannes Amerbach, Johannes Petri, Johann Froben, 1506

Bibl. reference: VD 16 A 4147

On the front cover of volume 1 handwritten dedication, probably by the book-binder Mathias Biermann:⁵ “Pro Huldericho Zuinglio”. He bound the eleven parts in nine volumes (pigskin bindings with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”). Zwingli bought the books after his arrival in Zürich and annotated the volumes 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The annotations have been transcribed and published by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 136–138. Volume 6 (Dr M 417: f) seems to have been lost and was replaced by another copy. The annotations were probably made by Johannes Tigurin, who used the

⁵ See p. 14f.

volume in 1587 as he wrote in the back of the book: “Utebatur Johannes Tigurinus ex mutuo Domini finis habet laudem, meta coronat opus. Anno virginei partus MDLXXXVII.”

DrM 417 & a–h

14 Augustinus Aurelius

Diui Aurelij Au-||gustini Hipponensis episcopi || ad Marcellinũ: de Ciuitate dei: cõtra || paganos Libri duo et viginti: opus dignissimũ: humanarũ di||uinarũq3 litterarũ disciplinis clarissime refertũ. Cũ cõmẽtarijs || Thomę Valois/ et Nicolai Triueth: necnõ additiõibus Ja||cobi Passauantij: atq3 Theologicis veritatibus Francisci || Maronis. || ANNO M. D.XV. || Directoriũ in singulos totius ope-||ris libros indice certo congestum. ||

2^o. [362] l. Signatures: a⁸b⁶–i⁸k⁶, l⁶, m⁸, n–z⁶, A⁶B⁸–I⁶K⁸, L–M⁶, N–O⁸, P⁶, Q⁸, R⁶, S⁸, T–Y⁶, a⁸, b–k⁶

Title page border, printer’s device

Contributors: Franciscus de Maironis; Conradus Leontorius; Nicolaus Trevetus; Jacobus Passavanti; Thomas Wallensis

Colophon: ... Nuper Basileæ ære & im-||pensis, puidi viri Iohãnis koburger Nurẽburgensis Bibli||opolaë, per Calcographiæ gna~~z~~ Adã petri ... || Anno || millesimo quingẽtesimo decĩoq nto, mẽsis || augusti die. xv. ad cõmunẽ ... ||

Basle: Johann Bebel, 1515

Bibl. reference: Adams A-2192; Germann, no. 213; Index Aureliensis 110.124; Köhler, no. 14/15; VD 16 A 4180

Previous owner’s note in the inside cover: “Sum zwynglij”. Annotated by Zwingli before July 1519, especially the books 8 and 10. The annotations have been partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 153–156. Zwingli refers on the work (books 10 and 11) for example in a letter written by him to Myconius on March 27, 1520 (Z VII, p. 288).

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 15.

III L 110

15 Augustinus Aurelius

Diui Aurelij Au-||gustini Hipponensis episcopi || de summa Trinitate que deus: ad Aureliũ Carthaginẽsem || episcopũ: Libri quindecim: opus prorsus diuinũ: et cui laus || oĩs inferior vbi peruersa hẽreticorũ dogmata: disputatiõibus || doctissimis cõfutans/profunda mysteria inattingibilis diuini-||tatis mira ingenij claritate aperuit. Cui Theologicę veritates || illuminati doctoris Frãcisci Maronis aptissime cõnectũtur. || ANNO M. D.XV. || Directoriũ in singulos totius ope-||ris indice certo congestum. ||

2^o. [116] l. Signatures: a–g⁸, h–q⁶, []⁶

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Franciscus de Maironis; Johannes Amerbach

Colophon: ... Impressi Basileæ ære & impensis circūspecti vi-||ri Iohannis Koberger civis Nürembergensis. Arte tamen ac peruigili cura || Industrij viri Adae Petri de Lägendorff, Anno virginei partus quin-||gentesimo quinto decimo super millesimum, quartodecimo || Kalendas Iunias, ... ||

Basle: Adam Petri, Hans Koberger, 1515

Bibl. reference: Adams A-2208; Germann, no. 213; Index Aureliensis 110.125; Köhler, no. 14/15; VD 16 A 4245

Previous owner's note in the inside cover: "Sum zwynglij". The first seven pages have been annotated by him before July 1519 (cf. Z XII, p. 157). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 14.

III L 110₂

16 Baptista Mantuanus

BAPTISTAE MANTVANI || THEOLOGI LIBRI TRES || DE VITA DIONYSII || non continentur in || alijs operibus. || T. D. A. || Natus hic est medijs vates heliconis in hortis || Tam bene Daphneā qui mouet arte chelym. ||

4^o. XLV, [1] l. Signatures: A⁸, B–C⁴, D–E⁶, F–H⁴, I⁶

Colophon: Mathias Schürerius Schletstatinus || Argentoraci imprimebat || Mense Iunio. Anno || M. D. VIII. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1508

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; VD 16 S 7309

Only a few annotations made by Zwingli on f. 4r/v before July 1519. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 21, 35, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 350₃

17 Barbarus, Hermolaus

Oratio ad Fridericum III. imperatorem et Maximilianum I. regem Romanorum

f. [1]recto: Oratio hermolai Barbarizac: f Legati Ueneti: ad federi-||cum Jmperatorem: Et Maximilianum Regem Romanorum. || Principes inuictissimos. || ... ||

4^o. [6] l.

Imprint according to GW: Rome: Stephan Plannck, not before the end of 1486
Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1486

Bibl reference: Germann, no. 122; GW 3345

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Half leather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₃

18 Barbarus, Hermolaus

Castigationes Plinianae

HERMOLAI BARBARI PATRICII VENETI || P. AQUILEIENSIS IN CASTIGATIONES
PLI||NIANAS AD ALEXANDRVM SEXTŪ PON||TIFICEM MAXIMVM PRAEFA-
TIO. ||

2°. [348] l.

Not rubricated

F. g^sverso: FINIVNT: HERMOLAI. BAR. || Patriarchæ Aquileiensis Plinianæ Cas-
tigationes: Item Aeditio in || Plinium secunda: Item emendatio in Melam
Pomponium: || Item Obscuræ cum Expositionibus suis uoces in Pli-||niano
Codice. Impressit formis Eucharius Ar-||genteus Germanus Romæ Idibus
Feb. || M. CCCC. Xciii. Alexandri Sexti || Pont. Max. Principatus || Anno Primo:
→

Rome: *Eucharius Silber*, 1493

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 231; Köhler, no. 19 and 20; GW 3340

Handwritten note on the front cover: “Pro Huldericho Zuinglio”. Pigskin bind-
ing, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of
the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”.

Ink K 289

19 Bartolus de Saxoferrato

Processus satanae contra genus humanum

F. [1]recto: Tractatus procuratoris editus sub nomīe diaboli quādo || petijt iusti-
ciam corā deo[et] beata virgo Maria se opposuit ꝑtra || ipsum [et] obtinuit
necnō obmutuit pugna ꝑtra gen[us] humanū. || ... ||

4°. [10] l.

Author according to HC

Colophon: finitus [et] impressus est presens tractatulus Romę p mgřm || Stef-
fanum Plannck de Patatuia. Anno. Mccccclxxxvj. die vero || lunę sextadecima
mensis Januarij. ||

Rome: *Stephan Plannck*, 1486

Bibl. reference: HC 2648

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death
in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by
Zwingli. Rubricated in red, only at the beginning. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 47,
87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343

20 Basilius Caesariensis

BASILII MAGNI || Cæsariensium in Cappadocia Antistitis sanctissi||mi OPERA
plane diuina, variis e locis sedulo col||lecta: & accuratiõe ac impësis Iodoci
Badii Ascẽ||sii recognita & coimpressa, quorum Index proxi||ma pandetur
charta. || Venūdantur eidem Ascensio sub gratia & pri-||uilegio: saltem prius
non impressorum: in trien-||nium. vt ad calcem explicabitur. ||

2°. [10], CLXXVIII l. Signatures: A¹⁰, a-x⁸, y⁶, z⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Jodocus Badius Ascensius; Georgius Trapezuntius; Gregorius
Nazianzenus; Raffaele Maffei; Johannes Argyropulus; Rufinus Aquileiensis

Colophon: Impressa aūt sunt impensis, & recognitione Iodoci Badii Ascensii ad
Idus Nouemb. Anni || dñici. M.D.XX. Cum gratia & priuilegio, ... ||

Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1520

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 176; Index Aureliensis 114.440; Köhler, no. 21

Annotations by Zwingli on f. 2v, 79r, 89v(?), 90r and 110r. Noteworthy and typical
for the philologist Zwingli is his remark on f. 79r, that the quotation of Basil-
ius of Jes. 28 originates from the Septuaginta: "Esa. 28. iux[ta] LXX". Pigskin
binding of the period. Bound with no. 12. Questionable if it is the book men-
tioned in the letter written by Johannes Xylotectus to Zwingli on October 16,
1522 (Z VII, p. 597 f.).

III K 12

21 Bebel, Heinrich

Ars versificandi carminũ || condendorum cum quantitatibus syllabarũ || Hen-
rici Bebelij lustingensis poetæ || laureati. || Hæc omnia denouo emendata
sunt diligentissime per || auctorem ipsum cum additione nouissima plus||-
[q]uam ducentarum dictionum maxime græca||rum, quæ in vsu sunt apud
latinos || poetas. Ex Tubinga Pridie Ka-||lendas Iulias Anno || M. D. XII. || Hex-
astichon Ioannis Hybphantici Vueissenho=||rensis in absolutissimam tradi-
tionem || Versificandi artis Bebelij. || ... ||

4°. [54] l. Signatures: A-B⁴, C⁸, D⁴, E⁸, F⁴, G⁸, H⁶, I⁸

Contributors: Wolfgang Bebel; Leonhard Clemens; Johannes Weber; Wendelin
Zwingisius

Colophon: Impressum Argentinae Anno || M. D. XIII. ||

Printer according to Ritter: Schürer, according to Index Aureliensis: Prüss

Strasbourg: Johann Prüss oder Mathias Schürer, 1513

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; Index Aureliensis 115.340; Ritter 169

Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 35, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 350₄

22 Beda Venerabilis

BEDAE || PRESBYTE-||RI ANGLOSAXONIS VIRI ERV-||DITISSIMI, DE NATVRA
RERVVM || ET TEMPORVM RATIONE || LIBRI DVO. || Nunc recens inuenti, &
in lucem editi. || GVSTVM QVENDAM, HVMANISSIME LE-||ctor, habe ope-
rum Bedæ, eorum quæ antea non extabant, quem si || probabis, efficies ut
primum tomum desideratum hactenus, || à nobis uero nuper è situ prola-
tum, simus quaq3 prima occasione edituri.|| BASILEAE EXCVDEBAT HENRI-
|CVS PETRVS MENSE MAR||TIO, AN: M. D. XXIX. || Cum gratia & priuilegio
Cæsareo. ||

2^o. [16], 74 l. Signatures: α-β⁶, γ⁴, a-l⁶, m⁸

Printer's device

Contributor: Johann Sichard

Colophon: BASILEAE EXCVDEBAT HENRICVS || PETRVS, MENSE MARTIO, AN: ||
M. D. XXIX. ||

Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1529

Bibl. reference: Adams B-449; Germann, no. 180; Index Aureliensis 115.620; VD 16
B 1439

According to Köhler (no. 171 and 346) Zwingli certainly knew the works of Ire-
naeus (no. 104) and the *Canones apostolorum* (no. 44). If this volume is the
one that was in his possession and then came into the abbey library of the
Grossmünster in Zürich, he must have been in possession of this work by
Beda too. Cf. Z XII, p. 370. Beda found his interest, as a letter written on
June 27, 1530 by Caspar Hedio to Zwingli proves (Z X, p. 646). Pigskin binding
by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 44 and 104.

III H 101₂

23 Beroaldo, Filippo

Orationes Pręlectiones et Pręfationes et quædam || mithicę Historiæ Philippi
Beroaldi. || Item Plusculę Angeli Politiani. Hermolai Barbari. || Atq3 vna
Iasonis Maini Oratio. Quibus addi possunt: || seorsum tamē impressa: varia
eiusdē Philippi Beroaldi || opuscula nunc demum coimpressa. || Quę om̃ia
venūdātur Parrhisiis in vico san-||cti Iacobi sub Leone argēteo: & in monte
diui || Hilarii In ēdibus Ascensianis. ||

4^o. LXXII, [6] l. Signatures: a-g⁸, h⁴, i⁸, k⁴, Aaa⁶

Title page woodcut, printer's device

Contributors: Giasone Dal Maino; Barbaro Ermolao; Angelo Poliziano

f. k₄verso: || ... || In ēdibus Ascensianis Ad Idus Nouem||bris.M.D.V. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1505

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 46; Köhler, no. 27; Renouard I, p. 145, no. 21

Annotations by Zwingli from his early period before 1508/10, partly edited by

Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 157–159. Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 96, 120, 145, 146 and 162.

VS 175₄

24 Bible. Old and New Testament

F. a₂recto: Prologus in bibliam || Incipit epistola sancti Hieronymi ad || Paulinũ
... ||

2°. [538] l.

Imprint according to GW: Basle: Johannes Amerbach, 1479

Basle: Johannes Amerbach, 1479

Bibl. reference: BSB-Ink B-433; GW 4236; Köhler, no. 30

Previous owner's note: "D. Huld. Zuinglio Suo Joan. Frisius D[ono] D[edit] MD[?]VI". The year of the dedication is not complete because of a paper loss. It could also be MDLVI, then it would be a dedication of Johannes Fries to Huldrych Zwingli the younger (1528–1571). There are annotations by various hands. It is not possible, to identify among them clearly Zwingli's handwriting. Included in the front is the map of the Holy Land, which was added to the Zürich Bible of 1525.⁶ A second previous owner's note says, that the Bible was dedicated in 1631 to the abbot of the cloister in Muri in the canton of Aargau; "Dem Hochwirdigen gnädigen Heren Johan Jodocus [Singeisen] Abte deß wirdigen gotz huß Mury sampt ihren Convent meinem gnädigen heren gfateren v[er]ehren ich Jeronimus Prüß dißer zeit Under Vogt vnd wirth zu Merenschwandt diß buch oder bibel vff den 17ten Juli anno 1631"; "Monasterii Murensis" (Exlibris). After the dissolution of the monasteries in the canton of Aargau in 1841 the Bible came in the Kantonsbibliothek Aargau in Aarau. Pigskin binding of the period.

Kantonsbibliothek Aarau, RarF 17

25 Bible. Old and New Testament

Biblia cum summariorũ || apparatu pleno quadrupliciq3 repertorio insignita: || cui vltra castigationẽ diligẽtissimã [et] signanter in || vocabulario dictionũ hebraicaz vbi p maio=||ri sui parte erat mendosa [et] vitiosa: addite || sunt marginales additiones annales || et gentis cuiusq3 ... ||

8°. [30], CCCCC, [54] l. Signatures: aa–bb⁸, cc⁴, dd¹⁰, a–z⁸, A–Z⁸, AA–QQ⁸, RR⁴, A–D⁸, E⁶, F–G⁸

Incomplete: f. aa–dd, EE–G are missing

⁶ The map is online: www.e-rara.ch/doi/10.3931/e-rara-32932.

Printer's device

Colophon: Lugduni in officina Jacobi mareschal. || Anno dñi decimonono supra millesimū || Decimoseptimo Kalendas Nouembris. ||

Lyon: Jacques Mareschal, 1519

Bibl. reference: Adams B-997; Köhler, no. 31

On the pastedown endpaper Zwingli wrote: "Ex dono Magistri Nicolai Bauari M. D. XXII". Below in a different hand: "Hoc est manus p[ro]pria Zuinglij ...". Few annotations by Zwingli, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 110 f. Pigskin binding of the period.

Zwingli 251

26 Bible. Old and New Testament

ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ' ΚΑΤ' Ε'ΞΟΧΗ'Ν ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ || ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΔΙΛΑΔΗ' || ΓΡΑΦΗ'Σ || ΠΑΛΑΙΑ'Σ ΤΕ, || ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΣ. || SACRAE SCRIPTURAE VETERIS, || NOVAE'QVE OMNIA. ||

2^o. [4], 451 [= 441], [3] l. Signatures: []⁴, αα-zψ⁸, &ω⁸, αααα⁴, bbββ-ccγγ⁸, dδδδ¹⁰, eεεε-qqππ⁸, rrrp¹⁰, ssζζ-tτττ⁸, uuuυ⁶, xxφφ-zzψψ⁸, &&ωω⁸, αααααα-bbbβββ⁸, cccγγγ⁴, dddδδδ-gggγγγ⁸, hhhθθθ¹⁰

Printer's device

Colophon: VENETIIS IN AEDIB. || ALDI ET ANDREAE || SOCERI. MD XVIII || MENSE FEBRVA||RIO. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1518

Bibl. reference: Edit 16 B 1932; Köhler, no. 28

Hebrew, Greek and Latin annotations by Zwingli after July 1519 to nearly all books of the OT (partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 104–109). He bought the Bible between April and October 1520.⁷ He used this Bible for his lectures⁸ and refers in his book *Von der Taufe* on it (Z IV, p. 312). On the flyleaf of the back cover Zwingli listed the birth of his children. Pigskin binding of the period.

Zwingli 312: a

27 Bible. Old Testament. Psalms

IOANNIS REVCHLIN PHOR||censis .II. doctoris in septem psalmos || pœnitē-tiales hebraicos interpretatio || de uerbo ad uerbum, & super || eisdem com-mentarioli sui, ad || discendum linguam hebrai||cam ex rudimentis. ||

F. []₁₀recto: Septem psalmi pœnitē-tiales hebraici || cum grāmatali tralactione latina ||

⁷ See p. 64.

⁸ See p. 65.

8°. [98] l. Signatures: a–e⁸, f–g⁸, h–l⁸, []¹⁰

Printer's device

Contributor: Johannes Reuchlin

Colophon: Tubingæ apud Thomam Anshel||mum Badensem M.D.XII. ||

Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1512

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 436, Köhler, no. 279; VD 16 B 3406

Previous owner's note on the title page: “ἐμὶ τοῦ Ζιγγλίου”. Few annotations by various hands, some of them perhaps from Zwingli. Pigskin binding of the period.

III B 188

28 Bible. Old Testament. Psalms

SECVNDA EMISSIO. || QVINCVPLEX || Psalterium. || Gallicum. || Rhomanum. || Hebraicum. || Vetus. || Conciliatum. || Preponūtur quæ subter || adjiciuntur. || Epistola. || Epilogus disputationis psal. xxx. || Appendix in psal. xxx. || Prologi Hieronymi tres. || Partitio psalmodum triplex. || Indices psalmodum duo. ||

2°. [12], 294 l. Signatures: +A⁶, a⁶, b–y⁸, A–P⁸, Q⁶

Editor and contributor: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples

Title page border

Colophon: ABSOLVTVM FVIT HOC QVINCVPLICIS PSALTERII OPVS IN || cœno-
bio sancti Germani prope muros Parisienses: anno a natali CHRISTI || domini
1508. Et in clarissimo Parisiorum Gymnasio ex calcotypa || Henrici Stephani
officina e regione scholarau Decretorum || ad secundam & castigatiorem
emissionem susce=||ptum anno eiusdem CHRISTI saluatoris || omnium 1513
Idibus Iunijs. Illi igi=||tur qui absoluere & absolutū || in publicum emitte=||re
dedit: || ... ||

Paris: Henri Estienne, 1513

Bibl. reference: Adams B-1395; Germann, no. 216; Köhler, no. 133

On the title page previous owner's note: “Sum Zuingli”. Especially exegetical and philological annotations by Zwingli during his stay in Einsiedeln and Zürich, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 280–291; the rest of the annotations is edited in: Guy Bedouelle: *Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Un guide de lecture, Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 171, Genf 1979, p. 280f. Henricus Glareanus wrote to Zwingli on June 7, 1519, that Lefèvre d'Étaples sends his regards to him (Z VII, p. 180). Martin Luther was also influenced by this book.⁹ Pigskin binding by the Basle bookbinder

9 Jack E. Brush: *Gotteserkenntnis und Selbsterkenntnis. Luthers Verständnis des 51. Psalms, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* 36, Tübingen 1997, p. 71f.

Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollen-gruppe”.

III B 58

29 Bible. Old Testament. Psalms

Psalterium, Hebręum, Gręcũ, || Arabicũ, & Chaldeũ, || cũ tribus || latinis ĩterpř-tatõibus & glossis. || ... ||

2°. [200] l. Signatures: A¹⁰, B–Z⁸, &⁸, ȳ⁶

Text Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and printed in parallel

Title page border, printer’s device

Colophon: Impressit miro ingenio, Petrus Paulus || Porrus, genuæ in ædibus Nicolai Iusti||niani Pauli, præsidente reipub. genuensi || ... || ... millesimo quingentesimo sex||todecimo mense. VIIIlbri. ||

Genoa: Niccolò Giustiniani, Pietro Paolo Porro, 1516

Bibl. reference: Adams B-1370; Germann, no. 145

Few annotations by Zwingli after July 1519. Pigskin binding of the period (cf. ill. 12).

III B 35

30 Bible. Old Testament. Prophets

IN POSTREMOS || TRES PROPHETAS, NEMPE HAG=||gæum, Zachariam, & Malachiam, || Commentarius Ioan. Oeco=||lampadij. || CVM INDICE. || ... ||

4°. [12], 86 l. Signatures: α–β⁴, a–x⁴, y⁶

Bound incorrectly: f. f_{1–2} is bound after f. f_{3–4}

Printer’s device

Contributor: Johannes Oecolampadius

Colophon: BASILEAE, APVD ANDREAM CRA=||TANDRVN, MENSE IANVARIO, || ANNO M. D. XXVII. ||

Basle: Andreas Cratander, 1527

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; Köhler, no. 241; VD 16 B 3978

Johannes Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on November 9, 1526, that the book would be printed the following week (Z VIII, p. 766), but only on March 26, 1527 did he send a copy (Z IX, p. 73). Binding from the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nine further publications of the 16th century: nos. 31, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₂

31 Bible. Old Testament. Daniel

IN DANIELEM || PROPHE TAM IOANNIS OECOLAM=||padij libri duo, omnigena
& abstruore || cum Hebræorum tum Græcorum || scriptorū doctrina refer-
ti. || ... || BASILEAE, APVD IOANNEM || BEBEL. AN. M. D. XXX. ||

Basle: Johannes Bebel, 1530

4°. [4], 157, [5] l. Signatures: A–Z⁴, Aa–Rr⁴, Ss⁶

Printer's device

Contributor: Johannes Oecolampadius

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564, Köhler, no. 248; VD 16 B 3817

On the title page dedication from Johannes Oecolampadius to Zwingli: "Pro Udalrico Zwinglio fratri chariss. Oecolampadij dono." He sent Zwingli a copy on March 30, 1530 (Z X, p. 531). The binding was made by the Zürich book-binder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. It was perhaps commissioned not by Zwingli himself but later by the librarian Conrad Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128

32 Bible. New Testament

NOVVM TESTA-||MENTVM OMNE, MVLTO QVÀM ANTEHAC DI||ligentius ab
ERASMO ROTERODAMO recognitū, emē||datum ac translatur, nō solum
ad Græcam ueritatē, uerum || etiam ad multorū utriusq3 linguæ codicum,
eorūmq3 ueterū || ... || Addita sunt in singulas Apostolorum epistolas || Argu-
menta per ERASMVM ROT. ||

2°. 120, 566 p., [1] l.: ill. Signatures: Aa–Kk⁶, a–z⁶, A–Z⁶, &⁸

Introduction Latin, text of the New Testament Greek Latin parallel printed

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Desiderius Erasmus

Colophon: BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IOANNIS FROBENII, || ANNO SALVTIS HVMA-
NAE M. D. XIX. || MENSE MARTIO. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 178; Köhler, no. 106; VD 16 B 4197

Few annotations by Zwingli on the cover and in the book, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 270 f. Zwingli wrote to Conrad Brunner on July 2, 1519, that he received the book (Z VII, p. 197). Cf. Z III, p. 219. Pigskin binding of the period.

III C 15

33 Billicanus, Theobaldus

DE VER||BIS COENAE DOMINI||nicæ & opinionum uarieta||te, Theobaldi
Billi=||cani, ad Vrba||num Regi=||um Epi=||stola. || Respōsio Urbani Regij ad
eundē. || M. D. XXVI. ||

8°. [20] l. Signatures: A⁸, B⁴, C⁸

Title page border

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 32; VD 16 G 1570

Imprint according to VD 16: Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff

Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1526

Cotains numerous annotations by Zwingli's hand, edited in: z IV, pp. 889–892.

Zwingli wrote an answer to this work with the title *Ad Theobaldi Billicani et Urbani Rhegii epistolas responsio* (z IV, p. 880 ff.). Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 46, 66, 94, 119, 135 and 167.

III B 1354

34 Bolziano, Urbano

Institutiones graecae grammaticae

INSTITVTIONES GRAECAE || GRAMMATICES. ||

4°. [216] l.

Contains 2 additional leaves “Castigationes errorum, qui in curia contigerunt.

Tu || ... ||”

Not rubricated

Colophon: Venetiis in ædibus Aldi Manutii Romani. M. IIID. || mense Ianuario. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1497

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 154; GW M48900

Annotated by Zwingli before July 1519. Halfleather binding of the period. Bound with no. 93.

Ink K 347

35 Böschenstein, Johann

בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵינוּ || CONTENTA IN HOC LIBELLO NVPER || a Ioanne böschenstein esslingensi edita. || Elementale introductoriũ in hebreas litteras || teutonice & hebraice legendas || Decem precepta Exodi. xx. || Oratio dominica Math. vi. Luce. xi. || Salutatio angelica Luce primo || Simbolum apostolorum || Canticum Marie Luce. i. || Canticum Simeonis. Luce. z. || Añ. Veni sancte || Añ. Salve regina || Canticum zacharie. Luce. i. ||

4°. [12] l. Signatures: A–C⁴

Printer's device

Contributors: Johannes Pinicianus; Nikolaus Pruckner; Heinrich Vitel

Colophon: Auguste ex officina Erhardi oeglin || mense Maio Anno. M.D.XIIII. ||

Augsburg: Erhard Öglin, 1514

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; VD 16 B 6356

Annotations by Zwingli on the binding before July 1519. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 21, 89, 144 and 182.

Ink K 350₇

36 *Breviarium Constantiense*

Bl. A₁recto: Jn nomine domini nostri ie||su christi Amen. || Jncipit psalteriũ cum suis || ... ||

8^o. [12], 392, 56, [1] l. Signatures: []⁸, i–iv, A–I⁸, A–O⁸, P⁶, AA–ZZ⁸, ~~222~~⁸, VV⁸, AA–GG⁸, i–[v]

Four of the five last leaves are bound between l. 40 and 41.

RB, printer's device

Contributor: Hugo, Bishop of Constance

F. EE₈verso: ... || diligentissime emendatum: || Erhardi Ratdolt viri soler||tis mira imprimendi arte: q[ua] || nuper Uenetijs: nunc Augu||ste vindelicorum excellit no||minatissimus. Explicit felici||ter. Anno .M. D. ix. ||

Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1509

Bibl. reference: Bohatta (Breviere) 2162; Köhler, no. 34; VD 16 B 8163

Copious marginalia by Zwingli before July 1519, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 160–169. Pigskin binding of the period.

II DD 220

37 Bucer, Martin

APOLOGIA || MARTINI BVCKERI QVA || fidei suæ atque doctrinæ, circa Christi Cœ=||nam, quā, tum ipse, tū alij Ecclesiastæ Ar||gentoracenses profitentur, rationē sim||pliciter reddit, atq3 citra dentem de=||pellit, quæ in ipsum Epistola quæ||dā Io. Brentij Ecclesiastæ Ha||lensis, inscio, ut creditur, || autore ædita, crimi=||na intendit. || ANNO, M.D.XXVI. ||

8^o. 36 l. Signatures: A–D⁸, E⁴

Imprint according to VD 16: Basle: Johannes Herwagen

Basle: Johannes Herwagen, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 615; Köhler, no. 36; VD 16 B 8848

The title belonged probably to Zwingli. Bucer sent him a copy according to a letter, written by Bucer, ca. March 7, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 540). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with 7 further publications of the 16th century from which nos. 38, 40 and 151 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210₄

38 Bucer, Martin

PRAEFATIO || M. BVCKERI IN QVARTVM TO=||mum Postillæ Lutheranæ, continens sum=||mam doctrinæ Christi. || EIVSDEM, || Epistola explicans locum

1. Corinth. 10. An nescitis q̄ || qui in stadio currunt, usq3: sed plures illo-
rum non approba||uerit Deus, cum Annotationibus in quædam pauculis
Lu||theri. || Epistola M. Lutheri ad Iohannem Heruagium supe=||riora crim-
inans. || Responsio ad hanc M. Bucer, Item ad Pomeranũ satisfactio, de
uersione Psalterij. || ... || ANNO M. D. XXVII. ||

8°. [48] l. Signatures: A–F⁸

Incomplete, signature E is missing, replaced by blank white leaves.

Contributor: Martin Luther

Imprint according to VD 16: Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen

Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen, 1527

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 615; Köhler, no. 37; VD 16 B 8903

On the title page dedication to Zwingli: “V. Zvinglio ma[.?.] suo”. Bucer sent him
the book at the end of March 1527 (Z IX, p. 71). Pigskin binding of the period.
Bound with 7 further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 37, 40
and 151 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210₃

39 Bucer, Martin

TZEPHA||NIAH, QVEM SOPHO=||niam uulgo uocāt, prophetarum || epitomo-
graphus, ad ebraicam || ueritatem uersus, & com=||mentario explanatus, ||
per M. Bucerum. || ARGENTORATI APVD || IOANNEM HERVAGI=||VM, MENSE
SEPT. || ANNO. M. D. XXVIII. ||

Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen, 1528

8°. [16], 96 l. Signatures: []¹⁶, A–M⁸

Titel page border

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 613; Köhler, no. 41; VD 16 B 3972

The title belonged possibly to Zwingli, but the binding of this omnibus volume
was made after 1534. Bucer sent Zwingli a copy on September 26, 1528 (Z IX,
p. 558). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with four further publications
from the 16th century which did not belong to Zwingli.

III B 93₄

40 Bucer, Martin

EPISTOLA || APOLOGETICA AD SYNCE=||RIORIS CHRISTIANISMI SECTA||tores
per Frisiam orientalem, & alias infe=||rioris Germaniæ regiones, in qua
Euangelij || Christi uere studiosi, non qui se falsò Euangeli=||cos iactant,
ijs defenduntur criminibus, quæ || in illos ERASMI ROTERODAMI || epistola
ad Vulturium Neocomum, || intendit. || Per ministros Euangelij, ecclesiæ ||
ARGENTORATEN. || ... || M. D. XXX. ||

8°. [120] l. Signatures: A–P⁸

Author from VD 16

Colophon: ... Argen||torati. XXII. Cal. Mai. M. D. XXX. || Petrus Schæfer, & Iohan
Apronianus com||munibus expensis excudebant. ||

Strasbourg: Peter Schöffler the younger, Johann Schwintzer, 1530

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 615; Köhler, no. 43; VD 16 B 8881

On f. P₈verso dedication to Zwingli: "Zuinglio suo." Bucer sent the last part of this title to Zwingli on May 4, 1530 (Z X, p. 567). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with seven further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 37, 38 and 151 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210₂

41 Bugenhagen, Johannes

EPIS||TOLA IOANNIS BV-||GENHAGII POME=||RANI AD AN-||GLOS. || Wittem-
berg || M D XXV. ||

8°. [4] l. Signatures: A⁴

Title page border

Bibl. reference: VD 16 B 9302;

Printer according to VD 16: Nickel Schirlentz

Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1525

Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 46, 66, 94, 118, 135 and 167.

III B 135₆

42 Bugenhagen, Johannes

Eyn Sendbrief || wvidder den new=||en yrthumb bey dem Sa||crament des
leybs und || blutts unsers HE=||RRN Jhesu || Christi. || Johan. Bugen||ha||gen
Pomer. || Wittemberg. || .1525. ||

8°. [8] l. Signatures: A–B⁴

Title page border

Colophon: Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch || Joseph Klug. ||

Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1525

Bibl. reference: VD 16 B 9384

Franz Kolb from Wertheim sent Zwingli a copy of this publication on September 7, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 352). Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b₇

43 Calepino, Ambrogio

Dictionarium

Calepinus || Ad librum. || Mos est putidus: [et] nouus repertus: || Jngens materia vt queat videri: || ... ||

2°. [310] l. Signatures: a–y⁸, z⁶, A–M⁶, N–T⁸

Title page border

Colophon: ... Et impressum Uęnetijs in ędibus || Petri Liechtenstein Colonien-
sis: Anno. || Uirginei Partus. M.D.VIII. || Die. 3. Januarij. ||

Venice: Peter Lichtenstein, 1509

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 245; Index Aureliensis 129.369

With few marginalia in Zwingli's hand. Pigskin binding of the period.

VP 4

44 *Canones Apostolorum*

CANONES APO=||STOLORVM. || VETERVM CONCI||LIORVM CONSTI||TVTIO-
NES. || DECRETA PONTI||FICVM ANTI=||QVIOA. || DE PRIMATV ROMA=||
NAE ECCLESIAE. || Ex tribus uetustiss. exemplaribus transcripta omnia, quo-
||rum catalogum proxima pagina indicat. || MOGVNTIAE ANNO M. D. XXV. ||
MENSE APRILI. || Cum priuilegio imperiali. ||

2°. [172] l. Signatures: []¹⁰, A⁴B⁶–I⁴K⁶, L–M⁶, N–O⁸, P⁶Q⁴–X⁶Y⁴, z⁶, Aa⁴Bb⁶–
Ee⁴Ff⁶, Gg⁸

Contributor: Johannes Wendelstinus [i.e. Johannes Cochlaeus]

Colophon: IMPRESSVM MOGVNTIAE IN || AEDIBVS IOAN. SCHOEFF-||FER. ANNO
DOMINI. || M. D. XXV. MENSE || APRILLI. ||

Mainz: Johann Schöffel, 1525

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 180; Index Aureliensis 142.051; Köhler, no. 346;
VD 16 C 4272

Zwingli quoted the work in his treatise *Von der Taufe* (1525). This was probably
his own copy. Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer.
Bound with nos. 22 and 104.

III H 101₃

45 Capito, Wolfgang

AD RE||VERENDISSIMVM ATq3 || illustrissimum principem, D. || Albertum
Archiepiscopum || Moguntinū, Cardinalē &c. || ep[isto]la V. Fabritij Capi-
tonis. || PARAE^{NESIS} ||

PRIOR DIVI IO. CHRY=||sostomi ad Theodorum la-||psum, V. Fabritio Capito-
||ne interprete cū præfatione, || ad eundem D. Albertū Ar-||chiep. Mogūt.
Card. ||

4°. 79, [1] p. Signatures: A–K⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Johannes Chrysostomus

Colophon: BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IO. FRO||BENII, MENSE NOVEMBRI, || ANNO
M. D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 52; VD 16 C 812

On the title page dedication from Johannes Froben to Zwingli: "D. Udalrico Zinglio, I. Frob. D[ono] D[edit]". Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 78, 80, 95, 130, 134 and 190.

III M 84₈

46 Capito, Wolfgang

IN HOSEAM || PROPHETAM V. F. CAPI=||tonis Commentarius. || EX QVO PECV-
LIARIA PRO=||phetis, & hactenus fortaßis nusquam || sic tractata, si uersam
pagellam || & indicem percurris, co=||gnoscere potes. || ARGENTORATI ||
APVD IOANNEM || HERVAGIVM MENSE APRILI. || ANNO M. D. XXVIII. ||

8°. [16], 284 l. Signatures: 1-[8], 1-[8], A-Z⁸, Aa-Mm⁸, Nn⁴

Colophon: ARGENTORATI APVD IOHANNEM || HERVAGIVM MENSE APRILI. ||
ANNO M. D. XXVIII. ||

Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen, 1528

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 57; VD 16 B 3847

On the title page dedication from the author to Zwingli: "Huldericho Zuinglio suo V Ca. D.D." Capito sent the book on March 29, 1528 to Zwingli (Z IX, p. 406). This commentary emerged from the conflict with the Anabaptists (he mentions on p. 177v the Anabaptists in Zürich). Cf. letter from Bucer to Zwingli written on April 15, 1528 (Z IX, pp. 426-429). Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 41, 94, 119, 135 and 167.

III B 135

47 Capellutus, Rolandus

De curatione pestiferorum apostematum

F[1]recto. Rolandi capelluti' Chrisopolitani Philosophi parmensis || ad mag-
istrum Petrum de Gnalâdris de Parma Cyrugi-||cũ optimũ. Tractatus de cura-
tiõe pestiferoꝝ apostematũ. ... ||

4°. [6] l.

Imprint according to GW: Rome: Stephan Plannck, [about 1487]

Rome: Stephan Plannck, about 1487

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; GW 6019

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death

in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₁₃

48 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Epistulae ad familiares

Hoc in uolumine hæc continentur. || .M. Tulii Ciceronis Epistolarum familiarium libri sexdecim. || Vbertini Clerici Crescentinatis in Ciceronis epistolas cōmentarii || Martini Philetici in quasdam epistolas ellectas commentarii || Georgii Merulæ Alexandrini in epistolam ad Lentulum || Spintherem accurata interpretatio || Addita sunt etiam nonnulla alia loca in libro miscelarum || per Angelum Politianum interpretata ||

2°. [232] l. Signatures: aa⁴, a–z⁸, &⁸, p⁶, 2⁶, A–D⁶

Contributors: Georgius Merula; Hubertinus Crescentinas; Martino Filetico; Angelo Poliziano

Colophon: Impressum Venetiis p Simonem Biuilaquā Papiensem Anno dñi. M.cccc.Lxxxx 5. die. 26. Iunii. ||

Venice: Simone Bevilaqua, 1495

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 56; GW 6850; Köhler, no. 69

In the pastedown endpaper previous owner's note: "Est Huoldrici Zingli". Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 197–201. On the title page handwritten note from Conrad Gessner. Leather binding of the period. Not rubricated.

Ink K 276

49 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

De officiis; Laelis de amicitia; Cato maior de senectute; Paradoxa Stoicorum

Tullius de Officiis cum cōmentariis Petri Marsi || eiusq3 recognitione & additōnibus. Cuius epistolas || quæso q[uam]sedulo perlegas & in principio & in calce o=||peris editas. Insunt prēterea paradoxa: de amicitia || de senectute cum interpretibus suis. Quæ omnia no=||uissime per Paulum Malleolum exacte sunt reuisa: ca||stigataq3 A quo tabula quoq3 tam rerum q[uam] uocabu=||lorum notabilium insuper est adiecta. || Venales reperiūtur Parisius in uico sancti Iacobi ad || intersignium Leonis Argentei. ||

2°. [204] l.

Printer's device (Jean Petit and Thielman Kerver)

Contributors: Paul Haemmerlin; Pietro Marso

Colophon: Impressum Parrhisiis opera Magistri Georgii || Vvolff Thielmāniq3 Keruer. Anno dñi || Millesimo quadringētesimo no||nagesimo octauo. xviii || Kēdas decembres. ||

Paris: Jean Petit, Georg Wolff, Thielman Kerver, 1498

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 54; GW 6969; Köhler, no. 70

Incorrectly bound, f. [199–204] bound at the beginning. Annotations by Zwingli, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 201–218. On the pastedown endpaper Zwingli wrote: “Zwingli p[ro] 9 Grossis Ursinis”. Calfleather binding with panel and single stamps (Paris, Gilbert Ferrer about 1500).

Ink K 281: a

50 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Rhetorica ad Herennium

.M.T.C. Rhetoricorum Li-||bri: cum tribus Cōmentariis. || Videlicet || Mario fabio uictorino || Fran. maturantio pusino || Anto. Mancinello ||

2°. [166] l.

Contributors: Antonio Mancinelli; Francesco Maturanzio; Gaius Marius Victorinus

Colophon: Venetiis a Philippo Pincio Mantuano. M.cccccc.die.xii.Septembris. ||
Venice: Filippo Pinzi, 1500

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 55; GW 6732

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding of the period. Not rubricated.

Ink K 275

51 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Commentarii questionum tusculanarum || editi a Philippo Beroaldo. ||

2°. [114] l. Signatures: A–T⁶

Colophon: Impræssum Venetiis per Simonē dictum Beuilaqua. M.CCCCC.II. die decimo Septēbris. ||

Venice: Simone Bevilaqua, 1502

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 141; Index Aureliensis 137.222; Köhler, no. 71

On title page: “ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου” and “Sum Zuinglii”. Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 218–221. Pigskin binding of the period with single stamps: “Knospenstaude” EBDB 5000380 = Kyriss 139.01, “Knospenstaude” EBDB 5000382 = Kyriss 139.02 u.a. (unknown workshop). Bound with no. 114.

Ink K 279

52 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

HOC VOLVMINE CONTINENTVR. || M. T. Ciceronis de oratore ad. Q. fratrem. Lib.

III. || Eiusdē de claris oratoribus q inscribitur Brutus. Li. I. || Eiusdem orator ad Brutum. Lib. I. || Eiusdem Topica ad Trebatium. Lib. I. || Eiusdem oratoriæ

partitiones. Lib. I. || Eiusdem de optimo genere oratorum præfatio quædã. ||
Hæc omnia nuper excusa [et] sedulo impressa || cum indice omnium quæ
sunt no-||tatu digna ex officina Phi-||lippi Giuntæ. || ||

8°. [8], 249 [= 248], [4] l. Signatures: 1⁸, a–z⁸, A–H⁸, 2⁴

Contributor: Luca della Robbia

Colophon: Impressum Florentiæ sumptibus Philippi Giuntæ Flo=||rētini Anno
à christiana salute. M. D. XIII. || supra mille Mense Octobri || Leone. x. Pon-
tifice. ||

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1514

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 417; Index Aureliensis 137.415

Probably few annotations by Zwingli to the title *De claris oratoribus, qui dicitur
Brutus* (f. 126v–176r). Leather binding of the period.

V T 81

53 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

M. T. CICERONIS EPISTO-||larum ad Atticum, ad Brutum, || ad Q. Fratrē, Libri.
xx. nu||p recogniti et maxima || diligentia im||pressi. || INDEX EORVM QVÆ
SVNT || notatu dignissima cum latina || uocabulorum interpreta-||tione quæ
græce scribū|tur unde multa uti||lia lectori licet || decerpere. ||

8°. [12], 335 [= 331], [1] l. Signatures: A⁸, B⁴, a–z⁸, aa–ss⁸, tt⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: Impressum Florentiæ ex officina Philippi Giun=||tæ anno à Chris-
tiana salute. D. XIII. || supra mille mense Nouembri Leo||ne decimo Pontif-
ice. ||

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1514

Bibl. reference: Adams C-1908; Germann, no. 461; Index Aureliensis 137.417;
Köhler, no. 72

On the title page previous owner's note: “ἐνὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου”. Leather binding of
the period.

V U 20

54 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

M. T. CICERONIS || PHILIPPICÆ. ||

8°. 108 l. Signatures: a–n⁸, o⁴

Printer's device

Colophon: Impressum Florētiae opera & sumptu Philippi || iuntæ. Anno à
natiuitate. D. xv. Su=||pra mille mense Sept. Leone || Decimo Pontifice. ||

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1515

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 418; Index Aureliensis 137.444 (Var.)

Probably few annotations by Zwingli. Leather binding of the period.

V T 250

55 Cicero, Marcus Tullius

HOC VOLVMINE HÆC || CONTINENTVR. || M.T.C. De natura deorum Libri III. || De diuinatione. Libri II. || De Fato. Liber I. || De legibus. Libri III. || Academicarum quæstionum. Libri II. || De finibus bonorum & malorum. Libri v. || Q.C. De petitione consulatus ad .M.T.C. Fratř. Lib. I. || De uniuersitate. Liber I. || De somnio Scipionis, e sexto de rep. Liber I. || De re militari. Liber I. || Omnia à Nicolao Bucinensi diligenter castigata. ||

8°. 350, [10] l. Signatures: a–z⁸, &⁸, ç⁸, ʒ⁸, A–S⁸, AA⁸

Printer's device

Contributor: Niccolò Angeli

Colophon: Impressum Florentiæ, opera & sumptu Philippi || Iuntæ. Anno à natiuitate. D. XVI. Su-||pra mille mense Octob. Leone || Decimo Pontifice. ||

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1516

Bibl. reference: Germann, no, 419; Index Aureliensis 137.572

Annotations by Zwingli to book I and II of *De natura deorum* after July 1519. He adopted Cicero's definition of religion (f. 39v) in his *De vera ac falsa religione commentarius* (1525).¹⁰ Leather binding of the period.

V U 72

56 Cortese, Paolo

PAVLVS CORTESIVS || IN SENTENTIAS. || QVI IN HOC OPERE || ELOQVENTIAM CVM || THEOLOGIA CONIVN||XIT. || BONI IGITVR AC || STVDIOSI GAVDEN||TO ATQVE EMVNT. ||

2°. [6], 52 l. Signatures: A–H⁶, I⁴, K⁶

Title page border

Colophon: Basileæ Rauricorū ... || ... Ioannes Frobenius Hammelburgeñ. imprime-||bat. Mense Augusto. An. M.D.XIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1513

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 177; Köhler, no. 186; VD 16 C 5314

Few marginalia in Zwingli's hand before July 1519, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 221–225. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 58 and 64.

III K 71₂

57 Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius

OPERA DIVI CAE||CILII CYPRIANI EPISCOPI CARTHAGI-||nensis, ab innumeris mendis repurgata, adiectis || nonnullis libellis ex uetustissimis exemplari-

10 Martin Sallmann: Zwischen Gott und Mensch. Huldrych Zwinglis theologischer Denkweg im *De vera et falsa religione commentarius* (1525), Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 108, Tübingen 1999, p. 71f.

||bus, quæ hactenus non habebantur, ac || semotis ijs, quæ falso uideban-
tur || inscripta, unà cū annotatiū||culis. Atq3 hæc omnia no||bis præstitit
ingen||ti labore suo || ERASMVS RO||RERODAMVS, uir iu-||uandis optimis
studijs natus. || APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM EX || OFFICINA FROBENIANA. ||
2°. [12] Bl., 515, [1] p., [16] l. Signatures: a-z⁶, A-Y⁶, Z⁸, Aa⁸

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Desiderius Erasmus

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBENIVM, || MENSE FEBRVARIO.
ANNO, M. D. XX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1520

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 185; Köhler, no. 81; VD 16 C 6508

Previous owner's note on f. a₂recto: "ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου". Few marginalia by Zwingli, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 225–228. On April 24, 1519 Zwingli first expressed to Beatus Rhenanus the desire to own the works of Cyprian (Z VII, no. 73). On January 10, 1520 the latter informed him of the forthcoming publication of a Basel edition (Z VII, no. 114). Even before April 17, 1520 one copy was sent to Zwingli, as Jacob Nepos wrote to Zwingli on that day that a copy had been sent to Zürich during his absence (Z VII, no. 133). Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

III L 11

58 Cyrilus Alexandrinus

Opus || insigne bea||ti patris Cyrilli pa||triarche Alexandrini || euāgelium Ioan||-
nis: a Georgio || Trapezōtio || traductū ||

2°. 223 [= 212] l. Signatures: a-z⁸, A-C⁸, D⁴

Incomplete, f. c₂ and c₇ are missing (replaced by blank white leaves)

Title page border

Title page border in Silvestre (1066) is referred to as printer's device of Hopyl

Contributors: Josse Clicthove; Georgius Trapezuntius

Colophon: Absolutum est hoc opus Parisiis in officina Vuolffgangi hopilii/ ad ||
insigne sancti Georgii in uico sancti Iacobi: impēsis eiusdē Vuolffgāgi/ || Ioā-
nis Parui et Thielmāni keruer in hoc excudēdo opere sociorū. Anno || uerbi
incarnati quīgētesimo octauo supra millesimū/ decima Ianuarii. || ... ||

Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1508

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 177; Index Aureliensis 149.143; Köhler, no. 82

On the title page previous owner's note: "ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΖΥΓΓΛΙΟΥ". Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 228–239. Wilhelm Nesen wrote to Zwingli on May 8, 1516, that he wants to help him to get the missing pages (Z VII, p. 39f.). Zwingli recommends the reading of

Cyrrill's commentary on the doctrine of the two natures of Christ (Z IX, p. 148).
Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 56 and 64.

III K 71

59 Damiani, Giano

IANI DA||miani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de || expeditione in Turcas Elegeia, cū argutissimis do-||ctissimorum uirorum epigrammatibus. || Epistola Pisonis ad Io. Coritium, de conflictu Polo-||norum & Lituanorum cum Moscouitis. || Henricus Penia ad Reuerend. Card. de Saulis, de ge-||stis Sophi contra Turcas. || Epistola Sigismundi Poloniae Regis ad Leonem X. || Pont. Max. de uictoria contra Schismaticos Mo||scouios, apud Aras Alexandri Magni parta. || ERASMI ROTERODAMI EPISTOLA AD LE||onem X. Pont. Max. de laudibus illius, & noua || Hieronymianorum operum ædizione. || Eiusdem ad Reuerendiss. D. Grimannum S. M. || Cardinalem Epistola. || Eiusdem ad Reuerendiss. Dn. Raphaelem Rea-||rium tit. S. Gæorgij Cardinalem Epistola. || Eiusdem ad eximium sacrae Theologiae Doctorem || Martinum Dorpium Hollandum Epistola Apo-||logetica de suarum lucubrationum ædizione. || Eiusdē in laudē urbis Selestadij Panegyricū Carmē || BASILEAE APVD IOAN-||NEM FRO-||BENIVM. ||

4°. [56] l. Signatures: a–o⁴

Printer's devices

Contributors: Basilius Chalcondylas; Constantinus Achazas; Decius Syllanus; Desiderius Erasmus; Factius Polydorus; Pietro Foderè; Paolo Giovio; Hieronymus Delius; Aulo Giano Parrasio; Henricus Penia; Phoebus Ptolomaeus; Jakob Piso; Paulus Soranus; Janus Vitalis; Zygmunt I. (King of Poland)

Colophon: BASILEAE IOANNES FROBENI-||VS TYPIS SVIS EXCVDEBAT. || Mense AVGVSTO. M. D. XV. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1515

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 42; Köhler, no. 104; VD 16 D 69

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo II"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 70, 79, 161 and 170.

III M 75₄

60 Demosthenes

Orationes

Δημοσθένους λόγοι, δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα. || Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ, ὑποθέσεις εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους. || Βίος δημοσθένους, κατ' αὐτοῦ Λιβανίου. || Βίος δημοσθένους, κατὰ Πλούταρχον. || Demosthenis orationes duæ & sexaginta. || Libanii so-

phistæ in eas ipsas orationes argumenta. || Vita Demosthenis per Liban-
ium. || Eiusdem uita per Plutarchum. ||

2°. [14] l., 320, 286 [= 288] p., [4] l. Signatures: []¹⁰, aa⁴, bb–xx⁸, A–s⁸, T⁴

Printer's device

Contributors: Libanius; Plutarchus

Colophon: Venetiis in ædib. Aldi. mense || Nouem. M.D. IIII. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1504

Bibl. reference: Adams D-259; Germann, no. 155; Köhler, no. 84

Froben bought the book for Zwingli in 1518 at the Frankfurt book fair.¹¹ Few annotations by Zwingli after July 1519, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 239–242. Zwingli quotes the work in his copy of the *Adagia* written by Erasmus (no. 71, p. 68). Pigskin binding by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”. Bound with no. 185.

VD 1

61 Didymus Chalcenterus

Lectori || Omeri interpres peruetustus: infinitis propemodum malignitate tem-
||porum laceratus plagis mediceū: olim Quirinalis iam caballini mō||tis gym-
nasium ... ||

F. α₂recto: ΣΧΟΛΙΑ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΥ ΔΟΚΙ||ΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ || ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙ-
ΑΔΑ. || ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ .Α. ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑΣ. ||

2°. [172] l. Signatures: α–ζ⁸, η¹⁰, θ–υ⁸, φ¹⁰

Incomplete, last leaf (blank) is missing

Contributor: Iōannēs Laskaris

Colophon: Ετυπώθη ἐν ῥώμῃ. παρὰ τ[ον] κυρίνου λόφον. ... || ... ἀγγέλῃ τ[του] κολ-
λώτιγ ... || χίλιος ῶ πεντακο||σιος ῶ ἑπτακαίδεκάτω. ... ||

Rome: Angelo Colocci, *Gymnasium Mediceum ad Caballinum Montem*, 1517

Bibl. reference: Adams D-440; Germann, no. 522; Köhler, no. 155

On the title page dedication from M. Sanderus to Zwingli: “Hulderico Zin-
lio M. Sanderus decanus Wratislauien[is] dono dedit Anno d[omi]ni 1520”
Annotated in Greek by Zwingli, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 369f.
Leather binding of the period.

VA 6

¹¹ See p. 12.

62 Diodorus Siculus*Bibliotheca*

DIODORI SICVLI HISTORIARVM PRISCARVM || A POGGIO IN LATINVM TRAD-
VCTI LIBER PRI||MVS INCIPIT: IN QVO HAEC CONTINENTVR || TOTIVS OPE-
RIS PROHEMIVM. || ... ||

F. q₁recto: CORNELII TACITI ILLVSTRISSIMI HISTORICI || DE SITV MORIBVS ET
POPVLIS GERMANIAE || LIBELLVS AVREVS. ||

2°. [128] l.

Contributors: Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini; Cornelius Tacitus

Colophon: Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca historiae libri: In quibus Prisce res: fab-
ulae: || & multa ac uaria de situ locorū ac moribus gentium cōtinentur:
Impressi || Venetiis per Andrea Iacobi Katharēsem Andrea Vendramino
Duce || fortunatissimo. .Mccccclxxvi. Pridie kal. feb. ||

Venice: Andrea Paltasichi, 1476/77

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 234; GW 8375; Köhler, no. 87

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII,
pp. 243–246. Zwingli quotes Diodorus in his commentaries to the Old Testa-
ment, so for example in his commentary on Jonah (Z XIV, p. 804). Halfleather
binding of the period with single stamps. Not rubricated.

Ink K 263

63 Duns Scotus, Ioannes

Scotus nouissime cum emendatissimo codice pari||sino castigatus: Additis
responsionibus ad ar||gumēta locis suis: [et] annotationibus opinio||num
diuersorū doctorū. ac ēt textuum cōmē||torum Aristotelis in marginibus.
Nec || non textu magistri sententiarum ap||positio titulis questionum. Et
cum tabula. ||

2°. 138, 84, 66, 161, [1], 53, [1], 28 l. Signatures: 1–13¹⁰, 14⁸, 15–20¹⁰, 21–22¹², 23–25¹⁰,
26–28¹², 29–43¹⁰, 44¹², 45–47¹⁰, 48–49¹², 50–51¹⁰, 52⁸

Binding of the “Tabula” (Signatures 25–50) precedes the main text.

Contributor: Filippo da Bagnacavallo

Colophon: ... Jmpresse Uenetijs mandato ac sum||ptibus nobilis viri domini
Andree Torresani de Asu-||la. per Bernardinum vercellensem. 1503. die. 26.
Augusti. ||

Venice: Andreas Asulanus, 1503

Bibl. reference: EDIT 16: CNCE 2637; Germann, no. 83; Index Aureliensis 157.515;
Köhler, no. 290

Annotations by Zwingli before 1519, partly edited in: Bolliger (2003), pp. 527–
641. Pigskin binding of the period.

IV S 44

64 Eck, Johannes

CHRYSOPASSVS || A IOANNE MAIORIS ECKIO PROCANCELLARIO || AVRIPOLI
ET CANONICO EISTETEN. LECTA EST || SVBTILIS ILLA PRAEDESTINATIONIS
MATERIA || VVILHELMO ILLVSTRIS. PRINCIPE BAIORIAM GVBERNANTE.
ANNO GRATIAE G. D. XII ||

2°. [158] l. Signatures: a–c⁴, A–Y⁶, Z⁴, Aa⁶, Bb⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: AVGVSTAE VINDELICORVM EX OFFICINA MILLERA=||na Mense
Nouembri Anno M D XIII. Imperante Cēsare MAXI=||MILIANO Austrio
P.F. Aug. P.P. Roman. Imperium Fœlici||ter & cum speciosis triumphis guber-
nante. Deo gloria ||

Augsburg: Johannes Miller, 1514

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 177; Köhler, no. 91; VD 16 E 305

Annotations by Zwingli before 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 246–
253, and partly edited by: Bolliger (2003), pp. 773–780. Leather binding of the
period. Bound with nos. 55 and 57.

III K 71₃

65 Eck, Johannes

Ein sendbrief an ein || fromē Eidgnosschafft: von Do=||ctor Johann Ecken:
die Lutte||rey vñ Zwingli betreffēd || Ableinung etlicher schmach Doctor
Eckenn von Vl=||rich zwingli zū gemessen. || Der ander sendbrief an gemein
Eidgnossen. || Ein sendbrief an Bürgermaister vnd Ratt zū Zurch. || Verw-
erffung vnngegrünter anntwurt des zwinglins || ainem Bürgermaister vnnd
Ratt vonn Zurch || durch in gegeben. || ... || Getruckt zū Lansshut durch J.W. ||

4°. [10] l. Signatures: A⁴, B², C⁴

Date of publication according to VD 16: 1524?

Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1524?

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 95; VD 16 E 424

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli the copy on April 1, 1528 (Z IX, p. 414). Binding
by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll
(Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was
ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was
written by Pellican when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of
the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175, 179
and 195.

III O 173: b₁₀

66 Eck, Johannes

AD IN||VICTISSIMVM POLONIAE || regem Sigismundum, de sa=||crificio Missæ

Contra || Lutheranos, li=||bri duo. || Iohanne Eckio authore. || M. D. XXVI. ||

8°. [8] l. 247, [1] p. Signatures: A–P⁸, Q⁴, R⁸

Title page border

Imprint according to VD 16: Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1526.

Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1526

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 93; VD 16 E 254

On the title page dedication from Petrus Gynoraues to Zwingli: “Huld. Zuing. suo P. Gynorianus D[ono] D[edit].” Petrus Gynoraues from Augsburg sent this imprint on August 22, 1526 to Zwingli (Z VIII, p. 688). Zwingli thanked him on August 31, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 700). Pigskin binding by the Zürich book-binder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 41, 46, 94, 119, 135 and 167.

III B 135₂

67 Eliyahu Bahur

הַדְּקֻקָּה

GRAMMATI=||CA HEBRAICA ABSOLVTIS=||sima, Eliæ Leuitæ Germani: nuper per SE=||BASTIANVM Munsterum iuxta He=||braismũ Latinitate donata, post quã lector || aliam non facile desiderabis. || Institutio elementaria in Hebraicã linguam || eodem Sebast. Munstero autore. ||

F. A₁recto: || לוח הבנינים

TABVLA || OMNIVM HEBRAICARVM || cõiugationum iuxta octo uerborum || classes pulchre in ordinem digesta. ||

8°. [200] l. Signatures: a–y⁸, A–C⁸

Text: Hebrew Latin printed in parallel

Printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IO. || Frobenium Mense Iulio || Anno M. D. XXV. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1525

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 435; Köhler, no. 184; VD 16 E 1001

Few annotations by Zwingli, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 391 f. Pigskin binding of the period.

VL 35

68 Erasmus, Desiderius

MORIAE ENCOMIVM ERA||SMI ROTERODAMI || DECLAMATIO || Ad Lectorem. ||

Habes hic Lector ... ||

4°. [42] l. Signatures: Aa⁸, B⁴, Cc⁴, D⁸, E⁴, F⁸, G⁶

Colophon: Argentorat. Ex Aedibus Schurerianis || Mense Octobri. Anno || M. D. XII. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1512

Bibl. reference: Bezzel (Erasmus) 1300; Germann, no. 39; VD 16 E 3181

Leather binding of the period by the so called “Laus Deo 11”-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 2, 69, 165 and 184.

III M 81₂

69 Erasmus, Desiderius

DESyderii ERASMI ROTERO=||dami, de duplici Copia, Verborum ac re=||rum
Commentarij duo. || Ab Authore ipso diligentissime recogniti, & ema||culati,
atq3 in plerisq3 locis aucti. || ITEM || Epistola Erasmi Roterodami, ad Iaco-
bum || Vuymphelingium Selestatinum. || ITEM || Erasmi Roterodami Para-
bolæ, siue Similia, e phy||sicis, pleraq3 ex Aristotele, & Plinio. || LECTOREME,
LEGE, || ET GAVDEBIS. ||

F. A1recto: ERASMI ROTERODAMI || Parabolarum, siue Similium || Liber. || CVM
PRIVILEGIO IMPE=||riali, ad Sexennium. ||

4°. [6], LXXII; [62] l. Signatures: []⁶, A⁴, B⁸, C⁴, D⁸, E–F⁴, G⁸, H–I⁴, K⁸, L–M⁴, N⁸; []⁶, A⁸B⁴–G⁸H⁴, I⁸

Colophon: Finis. Argentorati. Ex Aedibus || Schurerianis Mense Decem||bri,
Anno. M. D. XIII. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1514

Bibl. reference: Bezzel (erasmus) 738; Germann, no. 39; Köhler, no. 100; VD 16
E 2645

Very few marginalia by Zwingli on f. 2v before July 1519. Leather binding of the period by the so called “Laus Deo 11”-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 2, 68, 165 and 184.

III M 81

70 Erasmus, Desiderius

D. ERASMI. RO||TERODAMI VIRI || vndecunq3 doctissimi Lucu=||brationes,
quarum Index || positus est facie || sequenti. || ... || IN LIBERA ARGENTINA ||
... ||

4°. [4] l., 285, [1] p., [9] l. Signatures: []⁴, A⁸B⁴–P⁸Q⁴, R⁴, S–V⁸, X–Y⁴, Z⁸, Aa⁴, Bb⁸
Title page border

Contributor: Nikolaus Gerbel

Colophon: Excusum est hoc opus sūma cura, labo=||req3 præmagno. Argen-
torati apud Ma=||thiam Schurerium Mense Septemb. An||no M D XV. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1515

Bibl. reference: Bezzel (Erasmus) 846; Germann, no. 42; Köhler, no. 103; VD 16 E 2745

Previous owner's note on the title page: "Sum Zwingli". Numerous interlinear and marginal glosses in Zwingli's hand before July 1519, especially to the *Enchiridion militis christiani*, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 268–270. Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo II"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 58, 161 and 170.

III M 75

71 Erasmus, Desiderius

IO. FROBENIVS STVDIO||SIS OMNIBVS S. D. || Accipito candide lector, Erasmi Ro||terodami, prouerborum Chiliadas, || rursum ab ipso non aestimandis su-||doribus recognitas, & ex probatissi||mis autoribus sic locupletatas, ut su-||perioris æditionis summæ, fere quar||ta pars accesserit. Nos neq3 sump-
tui, || neq3 labori pepercimus, ut tam eru-||ditum opus, tam copiosum, ut uere || flumen aureū uocare possis, [quem] emē-||datissimum e nostra officina prodi-||ret in lucem, plane nouum, & hacte-||nus a nemine excusum. Eme, || fruire, & Vale. || IN INCLYTA BASILEA ||

2°. [24] l., 634 p., [1] l. Signatures: AA-DD⁶, a-z⁶, A-Z⁶, Aa-Ee⁶, Ff⁴, Gg⁸

Title border, printer's device

L. G₆verso: FINIS CHILIADVM ERASMI ROTERODAMI || EX ACCVRATISSIMA OFFICINA || FROBENIANA BASILEAE ||

Colophon: ... Apud inclytam Basilæam, ex ædibus nostris. || An. M.D.X.V. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1515

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 229; Köhler, no. 102; VD 16 E 1933

Previous owner's notice on f. AA₂recto: "ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ζηγγλίου". Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 254–268. Zwingli refers several times on other books in his library, for example on Demosthenes (p. 68), Politianus (p. 165), Gellius (p. 214) or Polybius (p. 429). Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo II"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647.

V G 14

72 Erasmus, Desiderius

Institutio Principis Christia-||ni saluberrimis referta præce||ptis, per Erasmus Roteroda||mum, cum alijs nonnullis eo-||dem pertinentibus, quorum cata-
logum in proxima repe||ries pagella. || APVD INCLYTAM || BASILEAM. ||

F. P₁recto: LIBELLVS PLVTARCHI SALVBER||RIMIS PRAECEPTIS REFERTVS, ||

DIGNVSQVE, QVEM OMNES || LEGANT PRINCIPES, MIRE || DOCENS QVO
PACTO DI||GNOSCI POSSIT ADV-||LATOR AB AMICO. ||

4°. [166] l. Signatures: a-p⁴, q⁶, A-Z⁴, AA-BB⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Johann Froben; Plutarchus

F. O₄verso: Basileæ apud Ioannem Frobenium Mense || Aprili. M. D. XVI. ||

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IO. || FROBENIVM MENSE || MAIO. AN. M. D. XVI. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1516

Bibl. reference: Bezzel (Erasmus) 1245; Germann, no. 67; VD 16 E 3132

Previous owner's note on the title page: "H. Zuinglio Ioa Frobenius". Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519 to the title *Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere* written by Plutarchus. Halfleather binding of the period.

III M 85

73 Erasmus, Desiderius

IOANNES FROBENI-||VS LECTORI. || HABES ITERVM MO||rias Encomiũ, pro
castiga-||tissimo castigatus una cũ || Listrij cõmentarijs, & alijs complusculis
libellis, non || minus eruditis quem festiuis, || quorum catalogum proxi||ma
mox indicabit pagel||la. Bene uale. ||

4°. [138] l. Signatures: a-h⁴, a-z⁴, A-B⁴, C⁶

Title page border, printer's device

F. a₁verso: IN HOC OPERE || CONTENTA. || LVDVS L. Annæi Senecæ, || De
morte Claudij Cæsaris, || nuper in Germania repertus || cum Scholijs Beati
Rhenani, || SYNESIVS Cyrenësis de lau||dibus Caluitij, Ioãne Phrea || Bri-
tãno interprete, cũ scho-||lijs Beati Rhenani. || ERASMI Roterodami Mo-||riæ
Encomium, cum com-||mentarijs Gerhardi Listrij, || trium linguarum per-
iti. || EPISTOLA apologetica || Erasmi Roterodami ad Mar||tinum Dorpiũ the-
ologum. ||

Contributors: Johann Froben; Gerardus Listrius; John Phrea; Beatus Rhenanus;
Lucius Annaeus Seneca; Synesius Cyrenensis

Date of publication on l. C₆recto: An. MDXV

Imprint according to VC 16: [Basle]: [Johann Froben], [1516].

Basle: Johann Froben, 1516

Bibl. reference: Bezzel (Erasmus) 1304; Germann, no. 49; Köhler, no. 107; VD 16
E 3184

Previous owner's note on the flyleaf: "Est Uldrici Zinglii Doggij." Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe". Bound with no. 90.

III M 89

74 Erasmus, Desiderius

QVERE-||LA PACIS VNDIQVE || GENTIVM EIECTAE || PROFLIGATAE-||QVE. ||
 AVTORE ERASMO || ROTERODAMO. || Cum quibusdam alijs, quorū || catalogum
 proxima repe-||ries pagella. || APVD INCLYTAM || GER||MANIAE BASILEAM. ||
 F. h₁recto: DES. ERAS||MI ROTERODAMI, IN || GENERE CONSOLA||TORIO, DE
 MOR||TE DECLA-||MATIO. ||
 F. k₁recto: LVCIANI || SAMOSATENSIS || Saturnalia, || Cronosolon, id est, Sat-
 urnalium legum lator, || Epistolæ Saturnales, || De Luctu, || Ab dicatus, ||
 Icaromenippus seu Hypernephelus, || Toxaris siue Amicitia, || Alexander
 seu Pseudomantis, || Gallus seu Somnium, || Timon seu Misanthropus, ||
 Pro Tyrannicida declamatio, || ERASMI declamatio, Lucianicæ respōdēs, ||
 De iis qui mercede conducti degunt, || Dialogi XVIII. || Hercules Gallicus, ||
 Eunuchus seu Pamphilus, || De Sacrificijs, || Conuiuium seu Lapithæ, || De
 Astrologia, || DES. ERASMO ROTERODA||MO INTERPRETE. || EX POSTERIORI
 RECOGNI||TIONE, M. D. XVII. ||
 F. Y₁recto: LVCIANI || Cynicus, || Menippus siue Necromantia, || Philopseudes
 siue incredulus, || Tyrannicida, || MORI Declamatio Luciani-||cæ respon-
 dens, || THOMA MORO BRI-||TANNO VICECOMI||TE ET CIVE LON||DINENSI
 IN-||TERPRE-||TE. ||
 4°. [2] l. 642 p., [1] l. Signatures: a-h⁴, i⁶, k-z⁴, A-Z⁴, Aa-Vu⁴, Xx⁶, Yy-Zz⁴, AA-
 LL⁴

Title page borders, printer's device

Contributors: Johann Froben; Thomas Moore; Lucianus Samosatensis

Colophon: BASILEÆ APVD IO. || FROBENIVM || MENSE DECEMBRI || AN.
 M D XVII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1517

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 45; Köhler, no. 187; VD 16 E 3488

On pages 246 and 422 handwritten notes by Zwingli after July 1519. On the fly-
 leaf handwritten note: "Sum Andree zwinglij Nec muto dominum". The book
 belonged to Huldrych Zwingli's brother Andreas, who died in 1520 because
 of the plague, then it came into the possession of Huldrych. Pigskin binding
 of the period.

V F 230

75 Erasmus, Desiderius

AVCTA||RIVM SELECTARVM A||LIQVOT EPISTOLA||RVM ERASMI ROTE||RO-
 DAMI AD ERV||DITOS, ET || HORVM || AD ILLVM. || APVD INCLYTAM || BASI-
 LEAM. ||

4°. 223, [1] p. Signatures: A-Z⁴, a-e⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Beatus Rhenanus

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IO. FROBENIVM || MENSE AVGVSTO. AN.
M. D. XVIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 36; VD 16 E 2936

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 77, 81 and 156.

III D 440₄

76 Erasmus, Desiderius

ENCHIRI-||dion militis Christiani, salu-||berrimis præceptis refertum, || autore
Des. Erasmo Rotero-||damo. || Cui accessit noua || miréq3 utilis || Præfatio. ||
Et Ba||siliij in Esaïam cōmentariolus, || eodem interprete. || Cum alijs quorū
Catalogum || pagellæ sequentis Elenchus || indicabit. ||

4°. 26 p., [1] l. 397, [1] p. Signatures: A–B⁴, c⁶, a–z⁴, A–Z⁴, Aa–Dd⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Basilius Caesariensis; John Colet; Johann Froben

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IO. FROBENIVM AN. || M. D. XVIII. QVINTILI MEN-
SE. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 37; Köhler, no. 112; VD 16 E 2751

Pigskin binding of the period. Probably Zwingli wrote on the front cover “Compendium” and “Enchiridion”.¹² Bound with no. 82.

III M 91₂

77 Erasmus, Desiderius

IN HOC || LIBELLO CONTINENTVR || QVERELA PACIS undiq3|| gentium eiectæ
prostigataeq3 || In genere cōsolatorio DE MOR||TE DECLAMATIO. || ENCO-
MIVM MATRI||MONII, || ENCOMIVM ARTIS || MEDICAE, || AVTORE DES.
ERASMO || ROTERODAMO. ||

F. h₁recto: DES. ERAS||MI ROTERODAMI, IN || GENERE CONSOLA||TORIO, DE
MOR||TE DECLA-||MATIO. ||

A₁recto: ENCOMI-||VM MATRIMONII, || PER DES. ERAS||MVM ROT. || ENCOMI-
||VM ARTIS MEDI-||CAE PER EVN-||DEM. ||

4°. 70 [= 74] p. [1] l. 54 p., [1] l. Signatures: a–h⁴, i⁶, A–G⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOAN||NEM FROBENIVM || AN. M. D. XVIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 36; Köhler, no. 117; VD 16 E 3490, further numbers:

VD16 E 2798, VD16 E 2811, VD16 E 3075

¹² Emil Egli: Aus Zwinglis Bibliothek, in: Zwingliana 2 (1907), p. 182.

Pigskin bindings of the period. On the front cover (III M 91) probably Zwingli wrote: "Compendium" and "Enchiridion".¹³ On f. A₁recto (III M 91) previous owner's note: "ἐπι τοῦ Zijγγλίου". Bound with nos. 75 and 81.

Shelf number III D 440₃ contains only *Querela pacis*, the other titles from the same imprint being bound in III M 91₃₋₄.

III D 440₃ & III M 91₃₋₄

78 Erasmus, Desiderius

DES. ERA-||SMI ROTERODAMI || APOLOGIA || pro declama-||tione de || lau-||de
ma-||trimonij. || Apud inclytam || Basileam. ||

4°. [8] l. Signatures: A–B⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: Apud Ioannem Frobenium, mense || Maio. Anno M. D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Bezzeel (Erasmus) 186; Germann, no. 33; VD 16 E 2028

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with 7 further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 45, 80, 95, 130, 134 and 190.

III M 84₃

79 Erasmus, Desiderius

DES. ERASMI RO||TERODAMI IN NOVVM TESTAMENTVM || ab eodem denuo
recognitum, Annotationes, || ingenti nuper accessione per auto-||rem locu-
pletatae. || BASILEAE ANNO M. D. XIX. ||

2°. [4] l., 578 p., [1] l. Signatures: aa⁴, a–z⁶, A–Y⁶, z⁴, aA–bB⁸

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM || FROBENIVM MENSE || MARTIO. M.
D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Adams E-887; Germann, no. 114; Köhler, no. 114

Few marginalia by Zwingli, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 273 f. Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

III M 5

80 Erasmus, Desiderius

IN EPISTO-||LAM PAVLI AD GALA-||tas Paraphrasis per Erasmũ || Roterodamum,
recens ab || illo conscripta, & nũc pri||mum typis excusa, ad Christi, Pauliq3 ||
gloriam. || APVD INCLYTAM || BASILEAM ||

¹³ Emil Egli: Aus Zwinglis Bibliothek, in: Zwingliana 2 (1907), p. 182.

4°. 63, [1] p. Signatures: a–h⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM || FROBENIVM MENSE AVGV||STO,
ANNO, M. D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 355; VD 16 E 3052

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 45, 78, 95, 130, 134 and 190.

III M 84

81 Erasmus, Desiderius

PARA=||PHRASIS IN DVAS EPI-||stolas Pauli ad Corinthios, per || ERASMVM
ROTERODA-||MVM recens ab illo conscripta, || & nunc primum typis excusa,
ad || CHRISTI Pauliq3 gloriam. || CATALOGVM REPE-||ries in proxima pag-
ella. || IN INCLYTA BASILEA. ||

4°. 222 p., [1] l Signatures: a–z⁴, A–E⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM || FROBENIVM MENSE || MARTIO. M.
D. XIX.||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 36; VD 16 E 3320

On the title page dedication from Johannes Froben to Zwingli: “Huldericho Zin-
lio ex dono Ioannis Frobenij”. Few annotations by Zwingli on p. 77, 81 and 83
(cf. Z XII, p. 272). Bound with nos. 75, 77 and 156.

III D 440

82 Erasmus, Desiderius

RATIO || SEV COMPENDIVM || VERAЕ THEOLO||GIAE, PER || ERASMVM ||
ROTE||RODAMVM. || APVD INCLYTAM || BASILEAM. ||

4°. 118 p., [1] l. Signatures: A–P⁴

Contributor: Beatus Rhenanus

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IO. || FROBENIVM MEN||SE IANVARIO, || ANNO M.
D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 37; Köhler, no. 112; VD 16 E 3512

On the front cover probably Zwingli wrote: “Compendium” and “Enchiridion”.¹⁴

Previous owner's note on the title page: “ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγλλίου”. Cf. Z XII, p. 272 f.

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 76 and 77.

III M 91

¹⁴ Emil Egli: Aus Zwinglis Bibliothek, in: Zwingliana 2 (1907), p. 182.

83 Erasmus, Desiderius

DE LIBERO ARBITRIO ΔΙΑΤΡΙ-||BH`, siue Collatio, Desiderij ERASMI Roterod. ||
... || Basileæ apud Ioannem Frobenium, Anno || M. D. XXIIII. Mense Sepem-
bri. ||

8°. [48] l. Signatures: a–f⁸

Printer's mark

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOAN. FROB. || MENSE SEPTEMB. AN. || M. D. XXI-
III. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1524

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 612; Köhler, no. 119; VD 16 E 3147

Few annotations by Zwingli on f. a_{5v} and f. a_{6r}. Pigskin binding of the period.

Bound with 7 further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 116,
117 and 142 certainly belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210: C₂

84 Fabri, Johann

Christenliche beweisung Doctor || Johaⁿ Fabri über sechs Artickel/ des vnchris-
ten=||lichen Vlrich Zwinglins Meister zû Zürich/ || überantwurt offentlichen
in der pfarrkirch||en vor den verordnetẽ vierer Bischoffen/ || Costentz/ Basel/
Losan/ vñ Chur/ auch || der zwölff orten gemeiner eidtgnoss=||schafft/ vnnd
ander treffenlichen || bottschaften vñ gelerten/ dar=||zû aller gemein in
dem heili=||gẽ geist vō Christenlicher || einigkeit wegen zû Ba=||den im
Erg[oe]w vff dẽ || xvj. tag May An=||no M. D. xxvj. || by einandern || versam-
let || gewesen || sind. || ... ||

4°. [222] l. Signatures: A–Z⁴, a–z⁴, Aa–Hh⁴, Ii⁶

Colophon: Gedruckt zû Tübingen/ von Vlrich Mor=||hart/ im Tausent/ fünff
hundert/ vñ || sechs vnd zweintzigsten jar. || am vierdten tag des || Herb-
stmonats. ||

Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart the older, 1526

Bib. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 131; VD 16 F 195

On September 18, 1526 Christoph Froschauer wrote to Zwingli that he had only
seen one book against Zwingli and Oecolampadius at the Frankfurt Book
Fair, namely this title from Faber, which he sent to Zwingli (z VIII, p. 717).
Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic
Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The
binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the
flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey
library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 85, 115,
174, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b

85 Fabri, Johann

Ein freintliche ge||schriff/ Doctor Johann Fa=||bri/ an Vlrich Zwingly mai||ster
zû Zürich/ dariñ ange=||zeygt würdet/ wie Zwin=||gly vnbillicher weiss/
vnd || on gnûgsam vrsach vff || angesetzte disputation || nit kommen will. ||
... ||

4°. [12] l. Signatures: A–C⁴

Title page border

Imprint according to VD 16: Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart the older, 1526

Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart the older, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 129; VD 16 F 212

On the title title page dedication from Gregor Mangold to Zwingli: “Huldericho Zuinglio gregorius Mangoldus”. Mangold, bookseller in Constance, sent the book to Zwingli on May 11, 1526 on behalf of Faber (Z VIII, p. 587). Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 115, 174, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b₄

86 Farel, Guillaume

Invitation to the discussion of the thesis

GVLIELMVS FARELLVS CHRISTIANIS LECTORIBVS. || ... ||

[Basle]: [Andreas Cratander], [1524]

Broadsheet: 32 × 21 cm

Bibl. reference: Oberrheinische Buchillustration 2, p. 625

Dedication from Oecolampadius and Bonifacius Wolfhart to Zwingli: “Huldri-cho Zuinglio Ecclesiasto Tigurino Oecolampadius et Bonifacius gratiam op- tant et patrem in Chri[st]o ...”. The whole dedication has the length of a letter and is edited in: Z VIII, p. 156 f.

StAZ E I 1.74, no. 20

87 Fernández de Santaella, Rodrigo

Oratio habita in die Parasceve [4. IV.] 1477

Elegantissima oratio habita p excellentissimũ artium [et] || sacre Theologie
Magistrum dñm Rodericum de sancta El||la Hispanum. Corã Sixto. iij. Pon.
Max. Jn magna Car-||dinalium Prelatorumq3 frequentia Jn die Parasceue.
An-||no dñi. M.cccclxxvij. Jncipit feliciter. ||

4°. [8] l.

Imprint according to GW: Rome: Stephan Plannck, after 1480

Rome: Stephan Plannck, after 1480

Bibl. reference: GW 9789

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 7, 8, 19, 47, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₁₁

88 Ficinius, Marsilius

De triplici vita

Marsilius Ficinus Flo||rētinus De triplici vita. ||

4°. [100] l.

Imprint according to GW: Basle: Johannes Amerbach, about 1497

Basle: Johannes Amerbach, about 1497

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 86; GW 9985

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding of the period with single stamps: “Knospenstaude” EBDB 5000380 = Kyriss 139.01, “Rautengerank” 5000381 = Kyriss 139.03 (unknown workshop). Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 3, 138 and 139.

Ink K 321₂

89 Gaguin, Robert

Ars versificatoria

Ars versificatoria roberti || Gaguini. ||

4°. [28] l.

Printer's device

Printer: Félix Baligault

Place of publication according to GW: Paris

Date of publication according to GW: about 1500

Paris: Félix Baligault, about 1500

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; BMC VIII, 177; GW 10449

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Leather binding of the period.

Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 21, 35, 144 and 182.

Ink K 350₅

90 Gaza, Theodoros

THEODORI GAZAE || Thessalonicēsis, Grammaticæ || institutionis liber primus, sic || trāslatus per ERASMVM RO-||TERODAMVM, || ac titulis & || annotatiunculis explanatus, ut || citra negociū & percipi queat & || teneri. IDEM Græce,

pro ijs || qui iam aliquātulū profecerūt. || COLLOQVIORVM FAMI||liarium
incerto autore libellus || Græce & Latine, nō pueris mo-||do, sed quibusuis,
in cottidiano || colloquio, græcū affectantibus || sermonē, impēdio futur[us]
utilis, || nunq3 antehac typis excusus. ||

4°. [72] l. Signatures: A–s⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Desiderius Erasmus

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBENIVM. || MENSE VIIIBRI. AN. ||
M. D. XVI. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1516

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 49; Köhler, no. 312; VD 16 T 800

Note on the flyleaf: “Est Uldrici Zwinglij Doggij”. Pigskin binding, made by the
Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler
Jagdrollengruppe”. Bound with no. 73.

III M 89₂

91 Gellius, Aulus

Noctes atticae

AVLVS GELIVS ||

2°. [10], 118 l.

Colophon: Impressum Venetiis per Io-||annē De Tridino alias Tacui||num Anno
domini. M.cccc.||lxxxvi.die.vi. Aprilis ||

Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1496

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 237; GW 10601

Owned by Johannes Stucki prior to Zwingli. Annotations by Zwingli from his
early period before 1508/10 and also from the later period before July 1519.
Price note on title page: “iiij ₶”. Bound in boards. Rubricated in red and
blue.

Ink K 270

92 Geraldinus, Antonius

Oratio ad Innocentium VIII. habita

F. [2]recto: Oratio Antonii Geraldini Prothonotarii apostolici Poetęq3|| Laure-
ati: Ac Regii oratoris. Jn obsequio canonice exhibitio p || Jllustrem Comitē
Lendillę. per protonotarium Metimņesem || [et] per ipsum protonotarium
Geraldinū nomine Serenissimoꝝ || Ferdinandi Regis [et] Helisabeth Reginę
Hispanię Jnnocent. || Octauo eius nominis Pontifici Maximo. ||

4°. [8] l.

F. [7]verso: ... || Habita Romę. xiii. [kal] Octobris. Anno salutis Sexto et Octo-
||gesimo supra. cccc. et. M. || Dixi: ||

Imprint according to GW: Rome: Stephan Plannck, not before September 19th 1486

Rome: Stephan Plannck, not before September 19th 1486

Bibl. reference: HC 7612; GW 10669

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 3437

93 Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio

LILII GRAEGORII GIRALDI || FERRARIENSIS SYNTA||GMA DE MV SIS. || AB IOVE
PRINCIPIVM MVSAE ||

4°. [12] l. Signatures: A–C⁴

Title page woodcut, illustrations

Contributor: Matthias Ringmann

Colophon: Finis libelli de Musis cōpositi a Lilio Gregorio Gi||raldo Ferrariēsi,
quē Matthias Schürerius sum||ma cū diligētia impressit, nō omissis accēti||-
bus in eis q̄ Grēca sunt. Argentorat. || Ann. sal. M.D.XII. Mēse Iuli. || ... ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1512

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 154; VD 16 G 2112

Halfleather binding of the period. Bound with no. 34.

Ink K 3472

94 Glait, Oswald

Handlung yetz den || xiiij. tag Marcii diß. xxvj. Jars/ So || zû Osterlytz inn Mer-
herñ durch/ erfor=||derte versamlung/ viler pfarrer vñ prie=||sterschafften/
ouch etlicher des Adels vñ || anderer in Christlicher lieb vnd einig=||keit
beschehen. Vnnd in siben || Artickel beschlossen mitsäpt || der selbenn
Artickel Erkl[ae]rnnng. || ... ||

8°. [8] l. Signatures: a⁸

Imprint according to VD 16 and Vischer: Zürich: Hans Hager, 1526

Zürich: Hans Hager, 1526

Bibl. reference: VD 16 G 2152; Vischer D 32

Utraquists and Reformed Protestants agreed on 14 March 1526 on the 7 articles of Austerlitz, which were strongly influenced by Zwingli's theology.¹⁵ Pigskin

¹⁵ Cf. Martin Rothkegel, Mährische Sakramentier des zweiten Viertels des 16. Jahrhunderts. Matěj Poustevník, Beneš Optát, Johannes Zeising (Jan Čížek), Jan Dubčanský ze Zdenína

binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 41, 46, 66, 119, 135 and 167.

III B 135₈

95 Glareanus, Henricus Loriti

ISAGOGE IN MVSICEN || HENRICI GLAREA||NI HELVETII || POE. LAV. || e quibusq3 bonis au||thorib[us] latinis & græcis ad || studiosorũ utilitatẽ || multo labore || elaborata. || AD FALCONEM COSS. || VRBIS AVENTICENSIS. ||

F. f₁recto: DVO ELEGIARVM LIBRI || HENRICI GLAREANI || HELVETII AD || VLDERI-||CVM || ZINLIVM || DOGGIVM. ||

4°. [42] l. Signatures: A–I⁴, K⁶

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IOANNIS || Frobenij Hammelburgensis diligenti-||tissimi apud Alemannos || Chalcographi, || expensis || autẽ || Gertrudæ || Lachneræ uxoris || Frobenij. Anno domini || M. D. XVI. Decimo octauo || Calendas Decembreis. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, Gertrud Lachner, 1516

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 139; VD 16 L 2617 and L 2643

On the title page dedication from the author to Zwingli: "D. Uldrico Zuingli Glareanus dono misit". On f. f₁recto probably written by Glareanus: "Possessor est Uldricus Zuingli".

Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 45, 78, 80, 130, 134 and 190.

III M 84₆₋₇

96 Gregorius Nazianzenus

Hi sunt in hoc Codice libelli || X. diui Gregorij Nazanzeni || Apologeticus. Liber. i. || De epiphanijs siue natali domini || De luminibus. quod est de secundis epiphanijs || De fide liber. i. || De Nicena fide: de penthecoste & spiritu sancto || De semetipso ex agro reuerso. || De dictis hieremie presente imperatore || De reconciliatione & vnitate monachorum || De grandinis vastatione || De arrianis q̃ non liceat sp & publice de deo cõtẽdere. ||

4°. [100] l. Signatures: a⁴, b⁶, c–d⁴, e⁶, f–g⁴, h⁸, i–k⁴, l⁸, m–n⁴, o⁸, p–q⁴, r⁸, s⁴, t⁸

Printer's device

Contributors: Johannes Adelphus; Rufinus Aquileiensis

Colophon: ... || Argẽtine p Ioannẽ knob=||louch. Anno dñi. M || .d.viii. Hilarij. ||

und die Habrovaner (Lulčer) Brüder, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana CCVIII; Bibliotheca dissidentium XXIV, Baden-Baden 2005, p. 127 f.; Balthasar Hubmaier: Schriften, hsg. v. Gunnar Westin und Torsten Bergsten, Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer IX, Gütersloh 1962, p. 36 and 59.

Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch, 1508

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 46; Köhler, no. 141; VD 16 G 3032

Annotations by Zwingli until leaf h₅ (= f. 32) before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 292–297. On leaf f. c₃v Zwingli quotes his teacher Thomas Wyttenbach: “Qui dissimulare, idem et regere noscit.” Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB S025973). Bound with nos. 23, 120, 145, 146 and 162.

V S 175

97 Gregorius Nyssenus

DIVINI || Gregorij Nyssæ Episcopi qui fuit frater || Basilij Magni LIBRI OCTO. ||
I De Homine. || II De Anima. || III De Elementis. || IIII De Viribus animæ. ||
V De volūtario et inuolūtario. || VI De Fato. || VII De Libero arbitrio. || VII De
Prouidentia. || ... ||

2°. [6], LX l. Signatures: A–H⁶, I⁴, K⁶, L⁸

RB, Title page border

Contributors: Basilius Caesariensis; Burgundius Pisanus; Johannes Cuno;
Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples; Gregorius Nazianzenus; Beatus Rhenanus

Colophon: Argentorati, ex officina libraria Matthiæ || Schurerij Selestensis,
Artium Do||ctoris. Mense Maio. An. || M. D. XII. T. O. || ... ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1512.

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 227; Köhler, no. 143; VD 16 ZV 7008

Annotation by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 298 f.
Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB S025973). Bound with nos. 118, 121, 149 and 150.

IV PP 173

Herodianus → Ink K 265**98 Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius**

OMNIVM OPERVM || DIVI EVSEBII HIERONYMI || STRIDONENSIS || TOMVS
PRI||MVS || ΠΑΡΑΙΝΗΤΙΚΑ || Videlicet EA || QVÆ AD VITAM RECTE || INSTI-
TVENDAM PER||TINENT COMPLE-||CTENS VNA CVM AR||GVMENTIS ET
SCHOLIIS || DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI || CVIVS OPERA POTISSI||MVM
EMENDATASVNT || QVÆ ANTE HAC || ERANT DEPR||VATISSIMA || ET INSTA-
VRA||TA EA QVÆ PRIVS || ERANT MVTLA. || APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM || EX
ACVRATISSIMA OFFI-||CINA FROBENIANA. ||

TOMVS SECVN||DVS || IN CVIVS || PRIMA PARTE REPERIES || ERVDITA QVÆ-

DAM, || SED HACTENVVS || FALSO INSCRI||PTA HIERO||NYMO. || IN, || SECVN-
 DA, ALIENA, SED SVIS || QVÆQVE TITVLIS AV-||THOREM TESTAN||TIA. || IN ||
 TERTIA, LECTV PRORSVS IN-||DIGNA, ET IMPVDENTER || ATTRIBVT DOC-
 TIS || VIRIS. || QVÆ TAMEN ADIVNXIMVS, NE || QVID AMPVTASSE VIDE||RE-
 MVR ÆDITIONI || IAM RECEP-||TÆ. ||

TERTIVS TO||MVS EPISTOLARVM || DIVI EVSEBII HIERONYMI || STRIDONEN-
 SIS, || COMPLECTENS EΛEΓKTI||KA KAI AΠOΛOΓETIKA, || NIMIRVM EA QVÆ
 PERTI||NENT AD REFELLEN||DAS DIVERSAS HÆRE||SEIS ET MALEDICO-
 RVVM || CALVMNIAS. || VNA CVM ARGVMENTIS ET || SCHOLIIS DES. ERASMI
 ROTE||RODAMI. ||

TOMVS QVAR||TVS EPISTOLARVM || SIVE LIBRORVM EPISTO||LARIVM || DIVI
 EVSEBII HIERONYMI || STRIDONENSIS, || COMPLECTENS TA ΕΞΗΓΗΜΑ-
 TIKA, || NEMPE, QVÆ AD EXPOSITIO||NEM DIVINÆ SCRIPTVRÆ || FACI-
 VNT. || VNA CVM ARGVMENTIS || ET SCHOLIIS || ERASMI ROTERODA||MI. ||

QVINTVS TO||MVS || OPERVM DIVI HIERO||NYMI, COMMEN||TARIOS IN || PRO-
 PHETAS, QVOS || MAIORES VOCANT, || CONTINET. || AD LECTOREM AMOR-
 BACHII. || Non clam nobis fuit, in his esse permulta, quæ falso inscriberentur
 Hieronymo. ... || APVD INCLYTAM GERMANIÆ BA||SILEAM M. D. XVI. ||

SEXTVS TOMVS || OPERVM DIVI HIERONYMI || COMMENTARIOS IN || DVODE-
 CIM PROPHETAS, || QVOS MINORES VO-||CANT, IVXTA || VTRAMQVE TRANS-
 LA||TIONEM CON||TINET. ||

SEPTIMO TOMO || HÆC IN SVNT, || IN PARABOLAS SOLOMO||NIS COMMEN-
 TARI. || IN ECCLESIASTEM DIVI || HIERONYMI STRIDONENSIS || COM-
 MENTARI. || HOMILIÆ IN CANTICA CAN||TICORVM QVATVOR ORIGE||NIS
 NOMINE. || DENIQVE IN IOB || COMMENTARI. ||

OCTAVS TO||MVS || COMMENTARIOS IN || PSALTERIVM || HABET. || ACCESSIT
 HIS PSALTERIVM || TRIPLICI LINGVA, HE||BRAICA, GRÆCA, ET LATINA. ||

TOMVS NONVS || OPERVM DIVI HIERONYMI EVSE||BII STRIDONENSIS COM-
 PLE||CTENS COMMENTARIOS IN || MATTHÆVM ET MARCVM, || ET IN DIVI
 PAVLI || EPISTOLAS, VI||DELICET AD GALATAS, || EPHESIOS, TI||TVM, PHILE-
 MONEM. || NECNON COMMENTA||RIOS IN OMNES PAVLI || EPISTOLAS SED
 INCERTO || AVTHORE. POSTREMO DIDYMI || DE SPIRITV SANCTO LIBRVM ||
 HIERONYMO VERSV M. ||

2°. 9 parts: ([28], 141, [1] l.; 238 l.; 169, [1] l.; 149, [1] l.; 287, [1] l.; 135, [1] l.; 118, [2]
 l.; 104, [96] l.; 203 [= 207], [1] l.). Signatures: α⁶, β⁸, γ⁶, δ⁸, a⁸, b-s⁶, t⁸, v-z⁶; A-
 z⁶, Aa-Gg⁶, Hh⁸, ii-Pp⁶, Qq⁸; AA-xx⁶, YY⁸, ZZ⁶, aaa-eee⁶; AAA-zzz⁶, &&&⁶,
 ttt⁶; A-L⁸, M-z⁶, Aa-Vv⁶, Xx⁸; a-k⁸, l-s⁶, t⁸; AA-MM⁶, NN⁸, OO-ss⁶, TT⁴, VV⁶;
 aaa-qqq⁶, rrr⁸, A-Q⁶; a-x⁶, y⁴, z⁶, A-H⁶, I¹⁰, K⁶, L⁸

Contributors: Basilius Amerbach; Bruno Amerbach; Desiderius Erasmus; Jo-
 hannes Oecolampadius

Colophon tomus primus: Operum Diui Hieronymi Tomus primus, ea complectens, quæ ad uitæ potissimum || institutionem faciunt, adiecta Coronide scriptorum illustrium, quanta potuit diligentia castigatus, & scholijs Erasmusianis illustratus, feliciter || absolutus est, apud inclytam Basileam. || Anno ab or-||be redempto Millesimo quingentesimo de||cimo sexto. Fruere lector, & me-||mineris hæc compluri||bus eruditibus || uiris, uix æstimandis sudoribus constitisse. ||

Colophon tomus quartus: Operum diui Hieronymi Stridonensis, Tomus quartus, summa cura, pa-||riq3 fide feliciter absolutus. In accuratissima officina Iohan-||nis Frobenij, apud inclytam Basileam. || Anno. M.D.XVI. ||

Colophon tomus nonus: BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IO. FROBENNII. IMPENDIO || BRVNONIS, BASILII ET BONIFACII AMORBACHIO||RVM, AC IOANNIS FROBENNII CHALCOGRAPHI || ET IACOBI RECHBUVRGII CIVIVM BASILIENSIVM, || MENSE MAIO. AN. M. D.XVI. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, Basilius Amerbach, Bonifacius Amerbach, Bruno Amerbach, 1516

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 186–190; Köhler, no. 150; VD 16 H 3482

On f. α₂ recto of volume 1 previous owner's note: "ἐπὶ Ζιγγλίου". Annotations by Zwingli before and after July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 299–369. Pigskin bindings of the period (except III ZZ 129).

III ZZ 124—III ZZ 127 and III ZZ 129

99 Hilarius Pictaviensis

Opera complura Sancti hylarii Episco||pi hac serie coimpressa. || D trinitate contra Arrianos. Lib. XII. || Contra Constantium hereticum. Lib. .I. || Ad Constantium Imperatorem. Lib. .II. || Contra Auxentium Arrianum. Lib. .I. || Auxentii Blasphemie plena Epla. .I. || De synodis contra Arrianos habitis. Lib. .I. || Ad Apram filiam diui Hylarii. Epla. .I. || In Psalmos David. Cōmentarii seu Lib. .II. || In euangelium Matthei. Lib. .I. || Venundantur vbi impressa sunt in ędib[us] ascensianis Parrhisiis in via regia ad diurū || Iacobum sub tribus luciis. ||

2°. ([2], XCVII, [1] l.; CXXX, XXXV, [1] l.). Signatures: []², a–l⁸, m⁴, n⁶; A–O⁸, P–R⁶, s–v⁸, x–y⁶

Title page woodcut, printer's device

Colophon: Impressum est hoc opus quāta maxima || potuit diligentia pro exemplario=||rum pœnuria /in ędib[us] atq3 im||pēsis Ascensianis. Anno || salutis nfe. M.D.X. || Ad calēdas Ia||nuarias. ||

Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1510

Bibl. reference: French Books III & IV, 73908; Germann, no. 184

Few marginalia by Zwingli after July 1519 to the titles: *De Synodis, Explana-*

tio psalmorum and *Explanatio Matthei*. Leather binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”.

III L 40

100

H|storia Undecim Milium Virgi=||num breuiori atq3 faciliore modo || pulcherrime collecta: cum nōnullis ad||ditionibus que in prima defuerūt. || De Diua Ursula Exastichon. || Pulchrior argento.rutilus formosior astris || Ursula.regali clara potensq3 domo || Mortali cecos.despexit coniugia.ignes || Atq3 maritales.mouit ab ore faces || Et secum tacitis.sic est affata querelis || Quid vir inepta furis.Sponsa tonantis ero. ||

4°. [4] l. Signatures: A⁴

Title woodcut

Colophon: ... Impressa || Colonie p Martinū de werdena. ||

Date of publication according to VD 16: 1504

Cologne: Martin von Werden, 1504

Bibl. reference: VD 16 P 889

With letter from Glareanus to Zwingli on the first two leaves (z VI/5, p. 438), written in the second half of 1507.

Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Inc. Sanc. 1422 (Standort-Signatur: BB links IV 18.3)

101 Homer

HOMERI POETARVM CLA=||RISSIMI ODYSSEA || DE ERRORIBVS || VLYXIS. ||

2°. LI, [1] l. Signatures: A–G⁶, H⁴, I⁶

Incomplete, f. I₆ is missing

Contributor: Georg Maxillus

Colophon: ARGENTORACI || Ex officina Ioanni Schotti: impēsis vero egregij.

I.v. Doctoris || Georgij Maxilli:al[ia]s übelin: episcopalis curiæ Ar=||geñ. Signatoris. ad nonū Kal[endas] Iunij. || Anno a natali christiano || M. D. X. ||

Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1510

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 161; Ritter II, 1187; VD 16 H 4701

Few marginalia by Zwingli after July 1519. Bound in boards (18th/19th century).

4:54

102 Homer

Homeri poete claris=||simi Jlias per Laurentiū Vallēsem Ro||manū e greco in latinū translata: et nup || accuratissime emendata. ||

2°. c l. Signatures: A–P⁶, Q⁴, R⁶

Contributor: Lorenzo Valla

Colophon: Impresum Liptzk per Melchiorem Lotterū. || Anno dñi. Millesimo qngētesimo duodecimo. ||

Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1512

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 235; Köhler, no. 154; VD 16 H 4661

Few annotations by Zwingli after July 1519. Leather binding of the period.

Bound with no. 133.

v A 3

103 Huber, Leonhard

REVOCATIONEM VOLVN=||TARIAM, NEC NON ET || VERAM CONFESSIO=||nem
Euangelicæ ueritatis. || Leonardi H[uo]beri Gachlin=||gensis, Durgei, hic
ha=||bes, Christianissime || Lector. || Schw[ae]bbogen. 1528. || ... ||

8°. [4] l. Signatures: b⁴

Imprint according to VD 16: Constance: Jörg Spitzenberg

Constance: Jörg Spitzenberg, 1528

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 158; VD 16 H 5290

On the title page handwritten note: "Zwijnglio et consulibus". Johannes Chuffer from Southern Germany sent Zwingli this imprint on March 15, 1528(?) (Z IX, p. 385f.).

StAZH, EII 339, 171 b

104 Irenaeus Lugdunensis

OPVS ERVDITISSIMVM || DIVI IRENAEI EPISCO||PI LVGDVNENSIS IN QVINQVE
LIBROS DIGE-||stum, in qibus mire retegīt & confutat ueterum hæreseon
impias ac por-||tentosas opiniones, ex uetustissimorum codicum collatione
quantum licuit || emendatum opera DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI, ac nunc
pri||mum in lucem editum opera Io. Frobenij. || Additus est index rerum scitu
dignarum. || APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM ANNO M. D. XXVI. || Cum gratia &
priuilegio Cæsareo. ||

2°. [6] l., 338 p., [7] l. Signatures: a–z⁶, A–E⁶, F⁸, G⁶

Printer's devices

Contributors: Desiderius Erasmus; Johann Froben

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOAN. FROB. MENSE || AVGVSTO ANNO M. D. XXVI. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1526

Bibl. reference: Adams I-150; Germann, no. 180; Köhler, no. 171; VD 16 I 316;

Zwingli knew the work (Z XII, p. 370) and quoted it in his commentaries on Isaiah (Z XIV, p. 372) and Luke (Z XVIII, p. 38). Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 22 and 44. It seems very likely that this volume was in Zwingli's possession.

Iustinus Martyr → IV PP 16**105 Johannes Andreae***Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis*

F. a₁recto: Capitula Tractatuli Jo. An. de || sponsalibus [et] matrimonijs. || ... || 4°. [8] l.

Imprint according to GW: Rome: Stephan Plannck, about 1490

Rome: *Stephan Plannck, about 1490*

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; GW 1747

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₆

106 Johannes Chrysostomus

F. Aa₁recto: TOMVS PRIMVS OPE||RVM IO. CHRYSOSTOMI CONSTANTINOPO-
LITANI, || Homilias complectens LXXXIX. Quarum octo prio-||res Anianus
ad Horontium e Græco uertit, Reli-||quas Georgius Trapezontius lati-||nitate
donauit, || APVD INCLYTAM || GERMANIÆ || BASILEAM. ||

F. CC₆recto: BASILEAE APVD IO. FROBENIVM || MENSE IVLIO ANNO || M.
D. XVII. ||

F. A₁recto: TOMVS SECVNDVS || CONTINET || IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI EPIS-
COPI CONSTANTII||NOPOLITANI COMMENTARIVM IN IOAN||NIS EVANGE-
LIA, HOMILIAS VIDE||LICET LXXXVII. FRANCISCO || ARETINO INTER||-
PRETE. ||

F. AA₁recto: TOMVSTERTIVS || CONTINET || IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI. EPISCOPI
CONSTANTINOPOLITANI || DE LAVDIBVS PAVLI. HOMILIAS VIII. || incerto
Interprete. || In epistolam ad Titum Homilias VI. Ambrosio Camaldulensi
Interprete. || In epistolam ad Philemonem Homilias III. Ambrosio Camald.
Interprete. || In epistolam ad Hebræos Homilias XXXIIII. Mutiano Scholas-
tico Interprete. || In epistolam I. ad Timotheum Homilias XVIII. Incerto
Interprete. || In epistolam II. ad Timotheum Homilias X. incerto Interprete. ||
In epistolam ad Corinthios Homiliã unicã Hieronymo Donato Interprete. ||
Aduersus Vituperatores uitæ monasticæ libros III. Ambrosio Camald. Inter-
prete. ||

F. XX₇Vverso: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FRO||BENIVM MENSE OCTOBRI ||
ANNO M. D. XVII. ||

F. a₁recto: TOMVS QVARTVS || IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI CONSTANTINOPOLI-
TANI, || habet Homilias LXXX. Ad populum Antiochænum potis-||simum

habitas, Bernado Brixiano Interprete, || quarum argumenti compendium || uide pagina sequenti. || APVD INCLYTAM || GERMANIÆ || BASILEAEM. ||
 F. S₇verso: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBENIVM || MENSE AVGVSTO AN. || M. D. XVII. ||
 F. aa₁recto: TOMVS QVINTVS || OPERVM DIVI IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI EPISCOPI || CONSTANTINOPOLITANI, || CONTINENS, || Homilias XLV. || De dignitate sacerdotali Li. VI. || De cõpunctione cordis Li. II. || De reparatione lapsi Li. unicum. || De prouidentia dei Li. III. || Sermones XXXVI. || Quorum omnium argumenta comperies pagina sequenti. || APVD INCLYTAM || GERMANIÆ || BASILEAM. ||
 INDEX SVPER QVIN||QVE TOMOS OPERVM DIVI IOANNIS || CHRYSOSTOMI EPISCOPI CON||STANTINOPOLITANI. || VITA EIVSDEM OBITER EX SVIDA, || ATQVE EX ALIIS ECCLE||SIASTICIS SCRIPTO||RIBVS APPO||SITA. || APVD INCLYTAM || GERMANIÆ || BASILEAM. ||
 2°. 158 l.; 91, [1] l.; 129, [1] l.; 109 [1] l.; 129, [1] l.; [20] l. Signatures: Aa⁸, Bb–Zz⁶, AAa–CCc⁶; A⁸, B–P⁶; AA–VV⁶, XX⁸; a–r⁶; s⁸; aa–tt⁶, vv–xx⁸; Index: []⁸, []⁶, []⁶
 Index is bound before Tomus Primus
 Title border (index), printer's devices
 Contributors: Anianus Celedensis; Franciscus Accoltus; Luca Bernardo; Girolamo Donati; Mutianus Scholasticus; Gregorius Trapezuntius; Ambrosius Traversarius

F. xx₇verso: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBENIVM || MENSE SEPTEMBRI. AN. M. D. XVII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1517

Bibl. reference: VD 16 J 396; Köhler, no. 66; Germann, no. 182 and 183

In the heraldic shield of the title page border of volume 1 previous owner's note: "ἐμὶ τοῦ Ζιγγλίου". Further note on the title page of volume 2: "Sum Zuinglii". Annotations by Zwingli before and after July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: z xii, pp. 169–197. Zwingli bought the edition in spring 1518.¹⁶ Pigskin binding made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

III K 83 & III K 83: a

107 Johannes Damascenus

CONTENTA. || THEOLOGIA DA=||MASCENI. || I De ineffabili diuinitate. || II De creaturarum genesi/ ordine Moseos. || III. De iis que ab incarnatione vsq3

16 Cf. letter from Conrad Brunner (Fonteiuss) to Bruno Amerbach, middle of March, 1518, in: Alfred Hartmann (ed.): Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, vol. 2, Die Briefe aus den Jahren 1514–1524, Basel 1943, p. 109 f.

ad re=||surrectionem. || IIII De iis que post resurrectionem vsq3 ad || vniuersalem || RESVRRECTIONEM. ||

4°. 114, [6] l. Signatures: a–p⁸

Contributor: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples

Colophon: ... PARISIIS per HEN=||RICVM Stephanum/ formularie litterarum ar=||tis industriũ opificem: in sua officina ere=||gione schole Decretorum colloca=||ta. Anno domini virtutum || et fidei autoris/ || millesimo || quingentesimo septimo/ decima quinta Aprilis. ||

Paris: Henri Estienne, 1507

Bibl. reference: BN, vol. 77, p. 784; Germann, no. 105

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited in: Bolliger (2003), pp. 781–796. Pigskin binding of the period.

III H 580

108 Johannes de Sacrobosco

Sphaera mundi

SPAERAE MVNDI Cõpendiũ FOELICITER INCHOAT. || Nouiciis adolescentibus: ad astronomicã remp. capessendã aditum im||petrãtibz: pro breui rectoq3 tramite a uulgari uestigio semoto: Iohãnis || de sacro busto ... ||

F. C₁recto: DISPVATIONVM IOHANNIS DE MONTE REGIO || CONTRA CREMONENSIA IN PLANETARVM || THEORICAS DELIRAMENTA PRAEFATIO. || ... ||

F. D₅recto: THEORICAE NOVAE PLANETARVM GEORGII || PVRBACHII ASTRONOMI CELEBRATISS. || DE SOLE || ... ||

4°. [69] l.

Printers' device

Title from caption and rubric on f. A₂recto. Printed in red and black on f. A₂recto.

First leaf [A₁] unsigned.

Contributors: Georg von Peurbach; Johannes Regiomontanus

Colophon: ... || Prididie caleñ. Aprilis. || Anno Salutis. || M.cccc.lxxxviii. || completũ est. Venetiis. ||

Printers: Johannes Lucilius Santritter & Hieronymus de Sanctis

Venice: Girolamo de Sanctis, Lucilius Johannes Santritter, 1488

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 293; Goff J-407; HC 14112

Woodcut initials, including four large initials on f. A₂r, C₁r, C₂v, and D₅r. Woodcut illustrations, including a full page illustration on f. [A₁] verso representing Astronomia, Urania and Ptolomaeus. Woodcut astrological and geometrical diagrams throughout, printed in black and sepia ff. D₅r, D₈r, E₂r, E₆r, E₆v, F₁v, F₅v, and in black, sepia and red on f. F₅r.

Used by Zwingli in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich with few annotations by him in the beginning of the work. Calf leather binding of

the period with single stamps: “heart” EBDB SO23534, “flower” EBDB SO23541 u.a. (workshop “Herzblüte”, Southern Germany), restored. Not rubricated. Bound with no. 163.

Ink K 294

109 Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis

Relatio circa canonisationem B. Bonaventurae

F. [1]recto: Ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis vsquequa3 dñe. || Relatio. R. P. D. Johannis Francisci de Pauinis: inter diui||ni [et] humani iurisconsultos minimi. || ... ||

4°. [2] l.

Imprint according to Reichling: Rome: Georg Herolt, about 1481

Rome: Georg Herolt, 1481

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; Reichling 664

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 110, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 3439

110 Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis

Oratio in laudem Santi Leopoldi

F. [1]recto: SEDENTE INNOCENTIO. VIII. PONT. max. || Frederico. iii. Imp. Suadente ab francisco appellato || patauo iuriscons. atq3 aduocato Consistoriali & paupe||rum equite & comite oratore habita die .xii. k[a]l[e]nd[as]. de||cēbris año salutis M.cccc.lxxxiiii. publico cōsistorio. ||

4°. [12] l.

Imprint according to BMC: Rome: Eucharius Silber, not before November 20th 1484

Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1484

Bibl. reference: BMC IV, 105; Germann, no. 122

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 131, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 34310

111 Johannes von Köln

Questiões Magi-||strales in diuina subtilissimi Scoti || Volumina: Sententiarum: Quoli-||betorum: Metaphysics: De Aña: || Posteriorũ [et]c. Cõpendiose ac

formaliter p sacre pagine || [pro]fessorẽ/ Fratrẽ Joannẽ de Colonia ordinis
minorũ cõ||portatę: ac decisionib[us] variorũ opinãtiũ: cũ innouatiõe || cu-
iusdã fratris obseruãtini eiusdẽ ordinis: tripliciꝝ di-||rectorio compte col-
lustratę: fausto principiunt omine. || ... ||

4°. [24], 309, [47] l. Signatures: aa-dd⁶, a-x⁸, y⁶, z⁸, A-Q⁸, AA⁶, BB-FF⁸

Title page border

Contributors: Daniel Agricola; Daniel Meyer; Michael Wildeck

Colophon on f. Q₇verso: ... Ex officina prouidi viri || Adę petri de Lanngen-
dorff/ ciuis inclitę vrbis Ba||sileę/ impressorię artis gnari: Anno in||carnatio-
nis domini nostri iesu || christi. 1510. decimo || Kalendas || Ianua||rij. ||

Colophon on f. FF₈verso: ... decimoquinto Kalẽdas Martias. Anno in||carnatio-
nis dominicę Millesimoquin||gentesimo decimo. ||

Basel: Adam Petri, 1510

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 87; Köhler, no. 74; VD 16 J 622

Title page (verso) is annotated by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding of the period.

IV S 115

112 Johannes von Salisbury

Johãnis ... saresberiẽsis / Policra||ticus de nugis curialiũ et vestigijs || phoꝝ
ꝓtinẽs libros octo. || ... ||

4°. [12], CCCLXXV, [1] l. Signatures: A⁸, B⁴, a-z⁸, aa-zz⁸, &&⁸

Colophon on f. &&-recto: ... Curauit || imprimi honestus vir Constantinus
fradin bi||bliopola Anno dñi. m. cccc.&.xiiij. Extrema manus opposita fuit
eodẽ anno. xvij Kalendas Maij. ||

Lyon: Constantin Fradin, 1513

Bibl. reference: Adams J-302

Zwingli consulted the text in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich.

Annotated by him. Pigskin binding of the period.

IV S 88

113 Josephus, Flavius

De antiquitate judaica; Contra Apionem; De bello judaico

Josephus de Anti=||quitatibus ac de || bello Judaico. ||

F. CLXXXII: JOSEPHI MATHATHIAE FILII HAEBREI GENERE SACERDOTIS EX
HIERO-||SOLYMIS DE BELLO IVDAICO IN LIBROS SEPTEM PROLOGVS PER
RVFFI||NVM AQVILENSEM TRADVCTOS. ||

2°. [276] l.

Contributors: Rufinus Aquileiensis; Hieronymus Squarzafigus

Colophon: Explicit Iosephus Antiquitatem & de Bello Iudaico. Impressum ||

Venetiis per diligentissimum uirum Albertinum Vercellen-||sem. Expensis Domini Octauiani scoti & fratris eius: An-||no Domini. M.CCCCXCIX. die. XXIII. Octobris. ||

Venice: Albertino Viani, Ottaviano Scoto, 1499

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 237; GW M15168; HC 9455; Köhler, no. 170

Annotations by Zwingli, mostly from his early period before 1508/10, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 370–390. Owned by Johannes Stucki prior to Zwingli. Bound in boards.

Ink K 156

114 Juvenal

Saturae

IVVENALIS || Anto. Manc. Domici[us] Geor. Val. || Argumenta Satyrarum Iuuenalis per An||tonium Mancinellum. ... ||

2°. [198] l.

Contributors: Domitius de Calderiis; Antonio Mancinelli; Giorgio Valla

Colophon: Nurnberge impressum est hoc Iuuenalis opus cum tribus commentis per Antonium Koberger. M.CCCC.XCVII. die vero. vi. Dēcebris. ||

Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1497

Bibl. reference: BMC II p. 443; BSB-Ink I-493; Germann, no. 141; H 9711; Köhler, no. 175

Few annotations probably by Zwingli, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 390 f. Zwingli quotes Juvenal twice in his letters from 1526 (Z VIII, p. 703 and 808). Pigskin binding of the period with single stamps: “Knospen-staude” EBDB 5000380 = Kyriass 139.01, “Knospenstaude” EBDB 5000382 = Kyriass 139.02 u.a. (unknown workshop). Not rubricated. Bound with no. 51.

Ink K 279₂

115 Karlstadt, Andreas

Entschuldigung D. Andres Carl=||stats des falschen namens der auffrûr/ || so jm ist mit vnrecht auff=||gelegt. || Mit ainer vorred D. Mar. Luth. || Erklerung wie Carlstat sein ler von || dem hochwirdigen Sacrament || vnd andere achtet und || geachtet haben || will. || M. D. XXV. ||

4°. [16] l. Signatures: A–D⁴

Contributor: Martin Luther

Imprint according to VD 16: Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff

Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1525

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; VD 16 B 6151

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The

binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 174, 175 and 195.

III O 173: b₂

116 Lambert, François

CHRISTIA||NISSIMI DOC. MARTINI || Lutheri, & Annemundi Cocti Equitis || Galli, pro sequentibus commentarijs || Epistolæ. || EVANGELICI IN MINO=|| ritarum Regulam Commentarij, Qui||bus, palàm sit, quid tam de illa, quàm || de alijs Monachorum Regulis & con||stitutionibus sentiendum sit. || In Epistola, quæ à libri capite est, || multarum sectarum perditionis Ca=||talogum inuenies. || FRANCISCO Lamberto Gallo || Theologo autore. ||

8°. [64] l. Signatures: a–h⁸

Title page border

Contributors: Anémond Coct;

Imprint according to VD 16: Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1523?

Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1523?

Bibl. reference: Benzing (Luther) 1596; Germann, no. 612; Köhler, no. 180; VD 16

L 141

On the title page dedication from Lucas Rollenbutz to Zwingli: “Lucas rollenbutzius Huldricho Zuinglio Concionatori tigurine ecclesie dono misit. Hec loquere et exhortare etc.” Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with 7 further publications of the 16th century of which nos. 83, 117 and 142 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210: c₅

117 Lambert, François

DE SYMBO||LO FOEDERIS NVNQVAM || rumpendi, quam Communionem uocant, || Francisci Lamberti Auenio=||nensis confesio. || Videbis lector, utra partium in Marpurgico collo=||quio, ueritatis præsidio potentior fuerit. || M. D. XXX. ||

8°. [16] l. Signatures: a–b⁸

Contributor: Johannes Oecolampadius

Colophon: Ex ædibus nostris, mense Febr. 26. Anno 30. supra || millesium & quingentesimum. ||

Imprint according to VD 16: Basle: Andreas Cratander

Basle: Andreas Cratander, 1530

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 612; Köhler, no. 181; Pegg (Swiss) 2709; Ritter IV, 2268; VD 16 L 158

On the title page dedication from the author to Zwingli: “Zwinglio Oecolamp[adius]”. Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with 7 further publications of the 16th century of which nos. 83, 116 and 142 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210: C₆

118 Lambertus de Monte Domini

Quaestio de salvatione Aristotelis

Questio magi=||stralis a venerando magistro || Lamberto de Monte artium [et] || sacre theologie professore eximio vigilâtissime ꝑgesta. osten||dens per auctoritates scripture diuine quid iuxta saniozem do||ctorũ sententiam probabilius dici possit de saluatiõe Aristo||telis stragerite nati Nicomaci grecorũ omnĩũ sapientissimi || Liuida ne timeas rabidi canis ora libelle || Jbis in aduersos. qui tueatur habes. ||

2°. [12] l. Signatures: A–B⁶

Imprint according to Hain: Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1498

Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1498

Bibl. reference: BSB-Ink L-43; Germann, no. 227; H 11586; Köhler, no. 182

Letter from Henricus Glareanus to Huldrych Zwingli on f. [A]₁recto (z VII, p. 14 f.). Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB 5025973). Bound with nos. 97, 121, 149 and 150.

IV PP 17₅

119 Landtsperger, Johann

Ein kurtze erinnerung etli=||cher gschriftt darauss man den Kinder=||tauff/ nit zimlich sein || beweisen wil/ mit gegen=||gesetzter vrsach (ob sy der heyiligen gschriftt || gem[ae]ss sey oder nit) zũ erkennen. Doch || eym yegklichen sein geyst || frey gelassen. ||

8°. [30] l. Signatures: aa–cc⁸, dd⁶

Imprint according to Vischer: Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1528

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1528

Bibl. reference: VD 16 L 233; Vischer C 148

On the title page handwritten note: “Durch Joanñe Landtsperger”. Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Landtsperger moved in May 1528 from Berne to Zürich (z IX, p. 449 f.). Bound with nos. 33, 41, 46, 66, 135 and 167.

III B 135₇

120 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques

Introductio || Jacobi fabri Stapulësis in Arithme||cam Diui Seuerini Boetij pariter [et] Jordani || Ars supputādi tam per calcu=||los q[uam] p notas arithmeticas suis quidem regulis elegāter expressa || Judoci Clichtouei Neoportuensis. || Questio haud indigna de numerorū || et p digitos [et] p articulos finita pgressionē ex Aurelio Augustino || Epitome rerum geometricarum ex Geometrico introductio || Caroli Bouilli. || De quadratura Circuli Demonstratio ex Campano ||

[30] l. Signatures: A–C⁶, D–F⁴

Contributors: Johann Caesarius; Johannes Antonius; Johannes Antonius Campanus; Josse Clicthove

Imprint according to VD 16: Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1507

Cologne: *Heinrich Quentell, 1507*

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 46; VD 16 L 952 [Var.]

Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 23, 96, 145, 146 and 162.

V S 1752

121 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques

VOLGATIVS PRATENSIS IOANNI SOLIDO || CRACOVIENSI SALVTEM D. || Pud [sic!] hospitem tuū Henricū Stephanū/ in cuius officina diuersor: cō=||perimanu tua exscriptā in politica Aristotelis introductiūculā. in=||super & economicon Xenophontis. illā: cōmuni preceptorī nostro || Fabro tribuis. hoc: cuidā Raphaēli volaterano. vt qui ex grēco/ latinū fēcerit. || ... ||

F. a₁verso: IACOBI FABRI STAPVLENSIS IN POLITICA || ARISTOTELIS INTRODUCTIO. || ... ||

F. a₄recto: ECO. || XENOPHON. SOCRATES. CRITOBVLVS. || ISCHOMACHVS. || ... ||

2^o. 16 l. Signatures: a–b⁸

Contributors: Raffaele Maffei; Pratensis Volgati; Xenophon

Colophon: ECONOMICI XENOPHONTIS FINIS. PARISIIS. || QVARTO CALENDAS OCTORIS. M.D.VIII. || EX OFFICINA HENRICI STEPHANI. || E REGIONE SCHOLARVM || DECRETORVM. ||

Paris: *Henri Estienne, 1508*

Bibl. reference: French Books III & IV, 77479; Germann, no. 227; Köhler, no. 132

Annotations by Zwingli from his early period before 1508/10, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 276–280. Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 118, 149 and 150.

IV PP 174

122 Lexicon

LEXICON GRAECOLATINVM || CVI PRAETER OMNEIS OMNIVM || ADDITIONES
 HACTENVVS, SIVE IN ITALIA, || siue in Gallia, siue in Germania impressas,
 ingens uo=||cabulorum numerus accessit:i d'q3 partim ex Græ||corum Lex-
 icis, partim ex recentiu lucubratio=||nibus: non quorumlibet, sed exquisi-
 torum: || nimiru GVLIELMI BVDAEI. ERASMI RO=||TERODAMI. LAVRENTII
 VALLAE. HAR||MOLAI BARBARI. ANGELI POLI=||TIANI. LVDOVICI COELII. ||
 aliorumq3 eiusdem || classis. || ... || Parisijs apud Collegium Sorbonæ. Anno
 à Christo nato || tricesimo supra sesquimillesimum. Mense Februario. ||

2°. [320] l. Signatures: *4, a–z⁶, Aa–Tt⁶, Vu–Xx⁸, A⁸, α–β⁶, A–Δ⁶, E⁴

Printer's device, title page woodcut

Contributors: Guillaume Budé; Desiderius Erasmus; Angelo Poliziano; Lodo-
 vico Ricchieri; Lorenzo Valla

Colophon: IMPRIMI CVRABAT GERARDVS || MORRHIVS CAMPENSIS. PARI-
 SIIS || APVD COLLEGIVM SORBONAE. || ANNO A CHRISTI NATI=||VITATE M.
 D. XXX. || MENSE FEBRVARIO. ||

Paris: Gérard Morrhy, 1530

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 158; Moreau, B. Inventaire, III, 2182

Annotations by Zwingli, among them several references to Polybius. Pigskin
 binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer.

V L 2

123 Libanius

LIBANII || SOPHISTAE GRAECI || declamatiunculae, eae-||demq3 Latinae, per
 DES. || ERASMVM ROT. || Cum duabus orationibus || Lysiae itidem uersis, in-
 ||certo interprete, & || alijs nonnullis. || IN INCLYTA BASILEA || ex aedibus Io.
 Frob. Mense || Martio. Anno M. D. XXII. ||

4°. [114] l. Signatures: A–Z⁴, Aa–Dd⁴, Ee⁶

Printer's device, title page woodcut, title page border

Contributors: Erasmus Desiderius; Isocrates; Lucianus Samosatensis; Lysias;
 Petrus Mosellanus

Colophon: APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM IN OF-||ficina Io. Frobenij Cal. Maij. AN.
 M. D. XXII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1522

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 96; VD 16 L 1480

Probably annotated by Zwingli on f. Dd₂r and inside the back cover. Leather
 binding of the period.

V D 360

124 Livius, Titus*Decades*

IO. AN. EPISCOPI ARLERIENSIS AD SVMMVM PON. PAVLVM II. VENETVM: ET
MAR-||CVM SANCTI MARCI CARDINALEM EPISTOLA. ||

2°. [256] l.

Not rubricated

Contributor: Lucas Porrus

F. H₉verso: Has Titi Liuii Decades a Luca porro quādiligentissime re cognitās:
Taruisii Ioannes Vercellensis || impressit Anno salutis Millesimo quadringen-
tesimo octogesimo quinto. ||

Treviso: Giovanni Rossi, 1485

Bibl. referene: Germann, no. 236; GW M18480

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII,
pp. 397–400; among them several references on the *Annotationes Liviani* by
Antonius Sabellicus.¹⁷ Pigskin binding of the period with single stamps.

Ink K 282

125 Livius, Titus

EX XIII. T. LIVII DECADIBVS. || PRIMA, || TERTIA, || QVARTA, in qua præter
fragmenta III, & x li-||bri, quæ in Germania nuper reperta, hic etiam conti-
||nentur, multa adulterina expunximus, multa uera re-||cepimus, quæ in alijs
non habentur. || Epitome singulorum librorum XIII Decadum. || Historia
omnium XIII Decadum in compendium re||dacta ab L. Floro. || Polybij lib.
v de rebus Romanis latinitate donati à || Nicolao Perotto. || Index copiosis-
simus rerum omnium memorabilium. || ... ||

F. Irecto: INDEX DECADIS || TERTIAE. ||

F. Irecto: INDEX DECADIS || QVARTAE. ||

F. AA₁recto: TITI LIVII PATAVINI || LIBRORVM EPI||TOMAE. || LVCIVS FLORVS. ||

2°. 4 parts: ([68], 365, [7] l.; [56], 350, [6] l.; [56], 296; 56, 310, [2] l.). Signatures:
*8, *4, 2*-8*8, a-z⁸, aa-zz⁸, &&⁴; 1-6⁸, *8, aa-zz⁸, AA-XX⁸, YY⁴; 1⁸, 22⁸, 33⁸,
44⁸, 55⁸, 66⁴, *8, **4, aaa-zzz⁸, AAA-OOO⁸; AA-GG⁸, aaaa-hhhh⁸, iiiii⁴, kkkk-
zzzz⁸, Aa-Qq⁸, Rr⁴

Printer's devices

Contributors: Lucius Annaeus Florus; Nicolaus Perrotus; Polybius; Giovanni
Francesco Torresano

Colophon part 1: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, || ET ANDREAE SOCERI, || MENSE
DECEMBRI, || M. D. XVIII. ||

¹⁷ See p. 76.

Colophon part 2: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, || ET ANDREAE SOCERI, || MENSE FEBRVARIO. || M. D. XIX. ||

Colophon part 3: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, || ET ANDREAE SOCERI, MEN=|| SE NOVEMBRI. M. D.XX. ||

Colophon part 4: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS || ALDI, ET ANDREAE || SOCERI, MEN-SE || MARTIO. M. || D. XXI. ||

Venice: Andreas Asulanus, Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1518–1521

Bibl. reference: Adams L-1322; Germann, no. 427–430; Köhler, no. 185

Annotations by Zwingli in volume 1 after July 1519, partly edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 392–397. Leather bindings by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer.

V W 68–V W 71

126 Lucianus Samosatensis

Opera

TAAE ENEETIN EN TΩΙΔΕ || TΩΙ BIBΛΙΩ. || ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. || ... || QVE HOC VOLV-MINE CON||TINENTVR. || Luciani opera. || Icones Philostrati. || Eiusdem Heroica. || Eiusdem uitæ Sophistarum. || Icones Iunioris Philostrati. || Descriptiones Callistrati. || ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ || ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ || ... ||

2°. [1] l., 571 [= 572] p. [1] l. Signatures: α–ω⁸, αα–δδ⁸, εε², ζζ–μμ⁸, νν⁶

Printer's device

Contributors: Callistratus Sophista; Philostratus Flavius; Philostratus Iunior

Colophon: Venetiis in ædib. Aldi mense Iunio. M.DIII. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1503

Bibl. reference: Adams L-1602; Germann, no. 156; Köhler, no. 188

Annotations by Zwingli after July 1519. He already attempted to obtain a Greek Lucian in spring 1519 (cf. Z VII, p. 163), but seems to have received the present volume from Valentin Curio for five gold florins only in May 1520 (Z VII, p. 313). Leather binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”.

V F 20

127 Luther, Martin

ACTA R. PA||TRIS MARTINI LVTHERII AVGV||STINIANI APVD D. LEGA||TVM APOSTOLICVM AVGVSTAE. ||

4°. 37, [1] p., [1] l. Signatures: a–e⁴

Imprint according to Benzing: Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Benzing (Luther) 239; VD 16 L 3639

Zwingli dedicated nos. 127, 128 and 129 to Joachim Vadian, which proves that he

knew of these titles and their contents. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 128 and 129.

III M 153₂

128 Luther, Martin

AD LEONEM X. || PONTIFICEM MAXIMUM, || Resolutiones disputationum de uirtute indulgentia||rum reuerēdi patris ac sacrae Theologiae doctoris Mar||tini Luther Augustiniani Vuittenbergensis. || Fratris patris Siluestri Prieratis ordinis praedicatorum||rum Magiri sacri Palacij ad Martinum Dialogus. || R.P. Martini Luther ad eum Dialogū Responsio. || Contra D. Ioannem Eckium Ingolstadiensem Sophisticum argutorem, Apologeticae propositiones || D. Andreae Bodenstein Archidiaconi Vuittēbergeñ. || R.P. Martini Luther, Sermo de poenitentia. || Sermo de indulgentijs. || Sermo de uirtute excommunicationis. || Decē praecepta Vuittenbergensi populo praedicata. || Et alia quaedam. ||

4^o. 473 [= 475], [1] p.

Incomplete, signatures Oo–Pp are missing

Signatures: a–z⁴, A–Z⁴, Aa–Mm⁴, Nn⁶

Contributors: Silvestro Mazzolini; Andreas Karlstadt

F. Nn₆recto: Excudebatur typis hoc opus Mense Octobri. || An. M. D. XVIII. ||

Imprint according to Benzing: Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Benzing (Luther) 3; VD 16 L 3407

On the title page dedication from Zwingli to Joachim Vadian: “Ioachimo Vadiano charissi[m]o amico Huldricus Zinlius Dono misit”. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 127 and 129.

III M 153

129 Luther, Martin

APPELLATIO || FRA. MARTINI LVTHER || AD CONCILIVM. ||

4^o. 8 p. Signatures: a⁴

Imprint according to Benzing: Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Benzing (Luther) 246; VD 16 L 3842

Zwingli dedicated nos. 127, 128 and 129 to Joachim Vadian, which proves that he knew of these titles and their contents. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 127 and 128.

III M 153₃

130 Luther, Martin

RESOLVTIO LV||THERIANA SVPER PROPOSITIO-||NE SVA DECIMA TERTIA, || DE
POTESTA||TE PAPÆ. ||

4°. 91, [1] p. Signatures: a–k⁴, l⁶

Printer's device

Imprint according to Benzing: Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference Benzing (Luther) 393; Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 196; VD 16
L 5780

On the title page dedication from Johann Froben to Zwingli: “Domino Huldericho Zinglio Ioannes Frobenius misit dono”. Jakob Nepos, one of Froben’s proof-readers, wrote to Zwingli on September 22, 1519, that he would send this title to him (Z VII, p. 205), which he very probably did the same day (Z VII, p. 207). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 45, 78, 80, 95, 134 and 190.

III M 84₂

131 Manchinelli, Antonio

De oratore brachyologia

F. [1]recto: Antonius Mancinellus Ueliterinus. Bernardino Germa-||no suo.
Sal ... ||

4°. [8] l.

Imprint according to Goff: Rome: Stephan Planneck, about 1485

Rome: Stephan Planneck, about 1485

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; Goff M-122

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 136, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₂

132 Manuzio, Aldo Pio

ALDI MANVTII ROMANI GRAMMA-||TICAE INSTITVTIONES GRAECAE. ||

4°. [2], 135, [1] l. Signatures: []², aa⁸, β⁸, cγ-r⁵

Printer's device

Contributor: Markos Musuros

Colophon: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, ET || ANDREAE SOCERI MENSE || NO-
VEMBRI M. D. XV. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1515

Bibl. reference: Adams M-428; Germann, no. 97; Köhler, no. 218

Previous owner's note on flyleaf: "Est Vldrici Zuingli, nec mutat Dominum." Calf leather binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

V K 236

133 Mela, Pomponius

POMPONII MELAE His=||pani, Libri de situ orbis tres, || adiectis IOachimi VAdi-
ani || Heluetii in eosdem Scho=||liis: Addita quoq in Ge=||ographiâ Cate-
chesi: || & Epistola Vadia=||ni ad Agricolâ || digna le=||ctu. || Cum Indice
summatim || omnia complectête. || ... ||

F. a, recto: POMPONII MELAE DE ORBIS SITV LIBRI || TRES, SVCCINCTA ADMO-
DVM LOCO=||RVM INSIGNIVM, AVT NON NIHIL || OBSCVRORVM, EXPLANA-
TIONE || ADIECTA PER IOACHIMVM || VADIANVM HELVETIVM, || POETAM
ET ME=||DICVM. || CVM EIVSDEM VADIANI AD RVDOL=||phum Agricolam/
Epistola, in qua multorum || percõmode ad Melæ nonnullos locos atti=||nen-
tium, paulo uberior facta est mentio. ||

2^o. [23], 132 [= 133], [2] l. Signatures: AA⁴, BB⁶, a-z⁴, A-O⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Rudolf Agricola the younger; Rudolf Ambühl; Tranquillus Parthe-
nius Andronicus; Georg Binder; Christoph Crassus; Andreas Egg; Conrad
Grebel; Philipp von Gundel; Martin Hatz; Georgius Logus; Matthias Pauli-
nus; Konrad Steck; Joachim Vadianus

Colophon: IMPRESSVS EST POMPONIVS || VIENNÆ PANNONIÆ, EXPENSIS LV-
CÆ ALANTSE || CIVIS ET BIBLIOPOLÆ VIENNENSIS, PER || IOANNEM SIN-
GRENIVM EX OE||TING BAIOLÆ. MENSE || MAIO, ANNI. || M.D.XVIII. ||

Vienna: Johann Singriener, Lukas Alantsee, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 235; Köhler, no. 222; VD 16 M 2310

On the title page dedication from Joachim Vadian to Zwingli: "Hulderico Zuin-
glio Ducano, amico, Vadianus donabat." On July 31, 1518, Conrad Grebel wrote
to Zwingli that he had ordered a copy from Vadian for him (Z VII, p. 91). On
May 21 and 24, 1519 Rhenanus reminded Zwingli that Adam Petri was sell-
ing the book in Basle. On June 7, 1519 Zwingli let him know that Vadian had
given him the book (Z VII, p. 181). Leather binding of the period. Bound with
no. 102.

V A 32

134 Melanchthon, Philipp

PHILIPPI ME||LANCHTHONIS EPISTOLA || de Theologica disputa-||tione Lip-
sica. || Excusatio Eckij ad eandem. ||

4^o. 19, [1] p. Signatures: a⁴, b⁶

Printer's device

Imprint according to VD 16: Basle: Johann Froben, 1519?

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 223; VD 16 M 3207

On the title page dedication from Jacobus Nepos to Zwingli: "D. Vdalrico Zinglio a Sacris cõcionibus Turegi nom[ine] Frobenij Jacobus Nepos dono misit." On December 28, 1519 Oswald Myconius wrote to Zwingli that he would give him a copy of the work, if he did not possess it (Z VII, p. 241). On December 31, Zwingli answered that he owned a copy (Z VII, p. 245). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with nos. 45, 78, 80, 95, 130 and 190.

III M 84₄

135 Melanchthon, Philipp

SEN=||TENCIÆ VETE=||rum aliquot scriptorum, || de Coena Domini, || bona fide re=||citate. || PHILIP. MELAN. || Vuitebergæ. || M D XXX. ||

8°. [24] l. Signatures: A–C⁸

Title page border

Colophon: IMPRESSVM VVITEBER=||gæ per Iosephum Clug. Anno || M D .XXX.||
Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1530

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 229; VD 16 M 4221

Dionysius Melander wrote to Bucer, Oecolampadius and Zwingli, that the printer Christoph Froschauer would bring them the book (Z X, p. 539). Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 41, 46, 66, 94, 119 and 167.

III B 135₅

136 Montanus, Cola

Oratio ad Luccenses

F. [1]recto: Oratio Colemontani ad Lucenses. || ... ||

4°. [8] l.

Imprint according to Hain: Rome: Eucharius Silber, not after 1492

Rome: Eucharius Silber, not after 1492

Bibl. reference: Goff M-827; H 11575

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 140, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₈

137 Münster, Sebastian

השורשות צרוד

DICTIONARIUM || HEBRAICVM, || nunc primum aeditum & ty-||pis excusum,
 Adiectis || Chaldaicis uoca-||bulis non pa-||rum multis. || AVTORE F. SEBAS-
 TIANO || MVNTSTERO MINORITA. || APVD FROB. M. D. XXIII. || MENSE IV-
 NIO. || ... ||

8°. [24] l. 525, [1] p., [1] l. Signatures: Aa–Cc⁸, a–z⁸, A–K⁸

Printer's device

Basle: Johann Froben, 1523

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 120; VD 16 M 6658

On the title page previous owner's note: "ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου". Few annotations by Zwingli. Pigskin binding of the period.

V L 26

138 Nicolaus de Orbellis

Cursus librorum philo||sophie naturalis venerabilis || magistri Nicolai de Or||-
 belli ordīs minorū s[e]c[un]d[u]m viā docto||ris subtilis || Scoti. ||

4°. [178] l. Signatures: a–b⁸, c⁶d⁸–i⁶k⁸, l–o⁸, pp⁸, p–x⁸, y¹⁰

Colophon: Expliciunt libri Ethicorū || Basilee impressi: Anno incar||nationis
 dñi. M.ccccc.iiij. ||

Printer according to VD 16: Michael Furter, according to Adams: Jakob Wolff

Basel: Michael Furter or Jakob Wolff, 1503

Bibl. reference: Adams O-247; Germann, no. 86; VD 16 N 1557

Annotation on f. q_{1r} by Zwingli.¹⁸ Pigskin binding from the period with single stamps: "Knospensstaude" EBDB s000380 = Kyriss 139.01, "Rautengerank" s000381 = Kyriss 139.03 (unknown workshop). Bound with nos. 3, 88 and 139.

Ink K 321₃

139 Nicolaus de Orbellis

Mathematica

Mathematica || Jncipit mathematica. || ... ||

F. []₂recto: ... Jncipit Geometria || Ca. III. || ... ||

4°. [4] l.: ill. Signatures: []⁴

Author identified from VD 16 and Adams

Place of publication according to Adams and VD 16: Basle

Date of publication according to Adams and VD 16: 1503

Printer according to VD 16: Michael Furter, according to Adams: Jakob Wolff

18 Bolliger did not take notice of this annotation. He also overlooked the fourth writing in this volume by Nicolaus de Orbellis. Cf. Bolliger (2003), p. 392.

Basle: Michael Furter or Jakob Wolff, 1503

Bibl. reference: Adams O-248; Germann, no. 86; VD 16 N 1558 and 1559

Pigskin binding from the period with single stamps: "Knospenstaupe" EBDB 5000380 = Kyriass 139.01, "Rautengerank" 5000381 = Kyriass 139.03 (unknown workshop). Bound with nos. 3, 88 and 137.

Ink K 321₄

140 Nicolaus Modrusiensis

Oratio in funere Petri Cardinali S. Sixti

F. [1]₁recto: Oratio in funere Reuerēdisssimi dñi. D. Petri Card. sancti Sixti || habita a reuerēdo pře dño Nicolao eño modrusieñ. || ... ||

4^o. [6] l.

Imprint according to Goff: Rome: Stephan Plannck, between 1481–1487

Rome: Stephan Plannck, between 1481–1487

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 122; Goff N-50

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Rubricated in red (only f. 1r).

Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 158 and 183.

Ink K 343₄

141 Oecolampadius, Johannes

INDEX IN || TOMOS OMNES, OPERVM || Diui Hieronymi cum interpre-||tatione nominum Græcorū || & Hebræorum, per Ioan. || Oecolampadium, || Theologum || in ordinem digestus. ||

2^o. 363 [= 359], [1] p. Signatures: a–z⁶, A–E⁶, F⁴, G⁸

Title border, printer's device

Colophon: APVD X[ρ]ιστῶν νουτάτ[ω]ν ספר קריית BASILEAM || IN AEDIBVS IOANNIS FROBENII || MENSE MAIO, ANNO || M. D. XX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1520

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 191; VD 16 H 3482

On the flyleaf previous owner's notice: "ἐμὶ τοῦ Zijγγλῆου". Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 189

III L 70: d

142 Oecolampadius, Johannes

QVID DE EV||CHARISTIA VETERES TVM || Græci, tum Latini senserint, Dialogus, in quo || Epistolæ Philippi Melancthonis & || Ioannis Oecolampadij || insertæ. || AVTORE IOANNE OEKO||LAMPADIO, ANNO || M. D. XXX. ||

[108] l. Signatures: a–n⁸, o⁴

Printer according to VD 16: Hieronymus Froben

Basel: Hieronymus Froben, 1530

Bibl. reference: VD 16 O 381; Köhler, no. 249; Germann, no. 612

On the title page dedication from the author to Zwingli: “Oecolamp[adius] Zuinglio”. Oecolampadius announced the work on June 3, 1530. The printer started on June 17, but the work was still not finished on June 25 (Z x, p. 609, 615 and 645). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with seven further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 83, 116 and 117 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210: c

143 Origenes

Operū Origenis Adamā||tij Tomi duo priores cum || tabula et indice generali ꝑxime sequentibus. || Vēnūdatur cū || duobus reli||quis eorūdē Tomis in ēdi||bus Joannis parui: et Jo||doci Badij Ascensij: Cum || gratia priuilegio Regio. ||

F. A₁recto: Tertius et quartus tomi || Operū Origenis Adamā||tij: quorū Tertius cōplecti||tur: post Apologiam expli||canda. || Vēnūdantur cum reliquis || eorūdem tomis in ēdibus || Joannis parui: et Jodoci || Badij Ascēsij: Cum gratia || et priuilegio regio. ||

2°. 4 parts ([32], CXC; CLVII, [1]; [6], CCXXIII; [2], CLXXV, [1] Bl.). Signatures: a–d⁸, a–z⁸, &⁶, Aa⁶, Bb–Mm⁸, Nn⁶, Oo–Qq⁸, Rr–Ss⁶, Tt⁸, Vv⁶, Xx⁸; AAA⁶, aaa⁶, bbb–zzz⁸, &&&⁸, ƶƶƶ–222⁸, AAA⁸, BBB¹⁰; aaaa–xxxx⁸, yyyy¹⁰

Title page border, printer’s device

F. yyy₉verso: ... E chalcographia nostra in Academia Parrhisiorum Decimo-quarto kalen. Nouembris. M.D.XII.

Paris: Jean Petit, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1512

Bibl. reference: Adams O-279; Germann, no. 174 and 175; Köhler, no. 250

On f. A₁recto of volume 2 previous owners note: “ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζιγγλίου”. Annotations by Zwingli after July 1519, especially to the commentaries on Iob in vol. 1 and to Matthew, Luke and the Epistle to the Romans in vol. 2. Pigskin bindings of the period.

III H 120 & a

144 Ovidius Naso, Publius

PVBLII OVIDII NASONIS || Heroidum Epi=||stolæ. || AVLISABINI Epistolæ tres. ||

Item Eiusdem P. O. N. || De Nuce Elegeia. || De Medicamine faciei Elegeia. || 4°. [92] l. Signatures: A⁴B⁸–N⁴O⁸, P⁸

Contributor: Sabinus Angelus Cneus

Colophon: Argentorati, Ex officina Schureriana, Men=||se Maio, Anno. M. D. XIII. | Reg. Cæs. Maximiliano, P F Aug. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1514

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 47; VD 16 O 1591

Zwingli wrote two distichs from Ovid's "Heroides" on the title page. The first is a quotation from the 4th letter from Phaedra to Hippolytus: "Sint procul a nobis iuvenes ut femina compti / fine coli modico forma virilis amat" [Away from me with your young men arrayed like women!—beauty in a man would fain be striven for in measure]. The second is only a Pentameter from the fifth letter from Oenone to Paris: "Turpiter ingenium munera corpus emunt" [Ingenuous beauty spurns a base reward]. Leather binding of the period with a handwritten inventory of the titles in this volume, written by Zwingli before July 1519. Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo 11"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. 0003647. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 21, 35, 89 and 182.

Ink K 350

145 Persius Flaccus, Aulus

P. Auli Persij familiaris explana=||tio Cum Joan. Britannici eruditissi||ma interpretatione. || Argumenta satyrarũ ac p̃fatiõis || Persiane per Jodocum Badiū. || Preludendo docet Satyram se scribere posse || Scriptorem in Prima satyra reprehendit ineptum || Uota nephanda auidi: sacra pontificũq3 Secunda. || Jn Cerna ignauos notat inflatosq3 potentes || Carpitur in Quarta text et reprehensos ineptus || Seruire in Quinta stultiq3 maliq3 probantur. || Jn Sexta heredi taxat nimum cumulantem. || Uenditur sub Leone Argẽteo in vico sancti Jacobi. ||

4^o. lxxix, [1] l. Signatures: a–k⁸

Printer's device

Contributors: Jodocus Badius Ascensius; Giovanni Britannico

Colophon: Impressum est iterum: hoc opus in nobilissimo || Parrhisorum gymnasio anno M.d.v. ad octauum || calendas Maias: solerti opera ipsius interpretis. || ... ||

Paris: Jean Petit, 1505

Bibl. reference: French Books III & IV, 82424; Germann, no. 46; Köhler, no. 257

Annotations by Zwingli from his early period before 1508/10 except the marginal note on f. 46r (between 1508/10 and July 1519). He used the book over years and quoted Persius even in his commentary on Genesis from 1525 (Z XIII, p. 287). Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EDB 5025973). Bound with nos. 23, 96, 120, 146 and 162.

V S 1755

146 Peutinger, Konrad

Sermones con||uiuales Cōradi peu||tingeri: de mirandis || Germanie antiqui=||tatibus. ||

4°. [26] l. Signatures: a⁴, b⁸, c⁴, d⁴, e⁶

Colophon: Ioannes Prūs in ædibus Thiergarten || Argentinae Īprimebat. Mathias schu=||rer recognouit. ||

Date of publication according to VD 16: 1506

Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1506

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 46; Köhler, no. 258; VD 16 P 2081

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EDBD s025973). Bound with nos. 23, 96, 120, 145 and 162.

V S 175₃

147 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni

OPera Joannis Pi=||ci: Mirandule Comitis Con=||cordie: litteraz principis: nouissime || accurate reuisa (addito generali sup || om̃ibus memoratu dignis regesto) quarũcunq3 facultatũ professoribus || tam iucunda q[uam] proficua. || Ioannis Pici Mirandulæ vita: per Franciscum Illu=||stris principis Galeotti Pici Filium elegantissime conscripta. || Heptaplus de opere Sex dierum geneseos. FO.I. || De precatória ad Deum elegiaco carmine. FO.XX. || Apologia tredecim quæstionum. FO.XXI. || Tractatus de ente & vno: cũ obiectionibus q[ui]busdã & rñsionibus FO.LXII. || Oratio quædam elegantissima. FO.LXXXIII. || Aepistolæ plures Ioannis Pici Mirandulæ. & alioz famosoz. FO.XCII. || Disputationum aduersus Astrologos libri duodecim.FO.CXV. || Testimonia eius vitæ & doctrinæ. In principio. || Cæcilij Cypriani episcopi Carthagiensis de ligno crucis Carmen. FO.I. || Hoc in volumine scribunt Epistolas hi viri clarissimi. || Ioannes Picus Mirandula Baptista guarinus || Io. Fran. Mirand. Gal. comitis filius Christophorus landinus. || Hermolaus barbarus. Alexander cortesius. || Angelus politianus. Bartholomeus fontius. || Frater Baptista carmelita. Marsilius ficinus: || Matheus bossus Veronensis. Baccius vgolinus. || Hieronymus donatus. Iunianus maius parthenopeus || Robertus saluiatus. Hieronymus Emser. || Philippus beroaldus ||

2°. [12], CCXVI l. Signatures: []⁶, aa⁶, A–Z⁶, a–n⁶

Contributors: Baptista Mantuanus; Ermolao Barbaro; Filippo Beroaldo; Antonio Cittadiniherodi; Alexander Cortesius; Girolamo Donati; Hieronymus Emser; Marsilius Ficinus; Bartolomeo Fonte; Battista Guarino; Cristoforo Landino; Iunianus Maius; Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola; Angelo Poliziano; Robertus Saluiatus; Bartolommeo Ugolino; Jakob Wimpfeling
Colophon: ... imp̃ssit Industrius Ioannes Prūs Ci=||uis Argentinus. Anno salutis. M.CCCCCIII. Die vero. xv. Marcij. ||

Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1504

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 225; Köhler, no. 259; VD 16 P 2578

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519 until f. 106, especially to the writings:

Heptaplus, Deprecatoria ad Deum, Apologia, De ente et uno, Oratio [de dignitate hominis] and the *Epistolae*. Leather binding of the period.

IV PP 15

148 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco

IOANNIS FRANCISCI PICI MIRANDVLAE || DOMINI ET CONCORDIAE CO=||MITIS/ DE RERVMPRAE=||NOTIONE LI=||BRINO=||VEM. || PRO VERITATE RELIGIONIS/ CONTRA || SVPERSTITIOSAS VANITA||TES EDITI. || De fide theoremata. || De morte Christi/ & propria cogitanda: Libri tres. || De studio diuinæ/ & humanæ philosophiæ: Duo. || De diuini amoris imaginatione: Vnus. || Vita patruī/ & defensio de uno & ente/ & alia quæpiā. || Expositio tex.Decreti de con.dis.ij. Hilarij. || Epistolarum libri Quattuor. || Iustini tralatio. || Staurostichon/ de mysterijs Germaniæ Heroico carmine. ||

2^o. [294] l. Signatures: []⁴, A–L⁶, M⁸, N–V⁶, a–c⁶, d⁸, e⁶, f¹⁰, g⁴, h–k⁶, l⁸, m–n⁶, o⁸, p–s⁶, t–u⁸, A–D⁶, E⁴, F⁸

Contributor: Iustinus Martyr

Colophon on f. o₇recto: Ioan. Fran. Pici Mirandulæ domini: & Comitiss Concordiæ opera aurea || & bracteata finiunt: Argentoraci Pridiæ Kaleñ. Februarias ANN. || M. D. VII. IVLIO. ij. Ponti.Maxi. & MAXIMILIANO || Cæsare Augusto/ inclyto/ Inuictiss. uniuerso terra=||rum, orbi præsidentibus: Ioannes Knob||lohus Imprimebat: Recognouit || Mathias Schüre=||rius. ||

Colophon on f. u₈recto: Finiunt Theoremata Ioan. Francisci Pici Mirandulani principis Argen=||toraci: quæ insignis Heluetiorum vrbs est: formis excusa die. || xxij.Decemb. Ann. M.D.vi. quādo inuictissi. Cæsaris || Maximiliani Augusti. Filius unigenitus Phi=||lippus ... ||

Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch, Mathias Schürer, 1506

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 226; VD 16 P 2636

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, especially to the writings: *De morte*

Christi et propria cogitanda libri tres, De studio diuinæ et humanæ philosophiæ libri duo, De imaginatione, Liber de vita Io. Pici patruī, eiusdem de uno et ente defensio, the Latin translation of Pico's *Liber ad gentes* by Iustinus Martyr and *De fide et ordine credendi theoremata*. Pigskin binding of the period.

IV PP 16

149 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco

IOANNIS FRANCISCI PICI MIRANDV=||LAE DOMINI. CONCORDIAEQVE || COMITIS: LIBER DE PROVI=||DENTIA CONTRA || PHILOSOPHA=||STROS. ||

2°. [38] l. Signatures: A–D⁶, E–F⁴, G⁶

Printer's device (reproduction of the printer's device of Benedetto Dolcibelli)

Contributors: Johannes Adelphus; Ermolao Barbaro

Colophon: ANNO A PARTV VIRGINIS. M.D.IX. KALEN. || Septemb. In Vrbe Argentina. sub. diui Maximiliani Cęsaris Imperio. ... || ... ab Io. Francisco || Pico Mirandulæ || domino || Ingeniosus Ioan=||nes Grüninger exscripsit: || ... || Iohannes Adelphus Recognouit. ||

Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1509

Bibl. reference: Grmann, no. 227; Köhler, no. 260; VD 16 P 2654

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 97, 118, 121 and 150.

IV PP 17₂

150 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco

IOANNIS FRANCISCI PICI MIRANDVLANI PRIN||CIPIS, CONCORDIAEQVE COMMITIS HYMNI || HEROICI TRES. AD SANCTISSIMAM || TRINITATEM, AD CHRISTVM, ET || AD VIRGINEM MARIAM, VNA || CVM COMMENTARIIS LV||CVLENTISS. AD IO. || THOMAM FI||LIVM. || Additis sparsim ab ipso auctore pauculis, que in || priori impressione deerant. || Eiusdem Sylua. || Eiusdem Staurostichon, hoc est Carmen de myste||rijs Crucis in Germaniam delapsis. ||

2°. [4], XCVI, [12] l. Signatures: A⁴, B–R⁶, S⁸, []⁴

Contributor: Beatus Rhenanus

Colophon: Argentorati in libraria officina Mathiæ Schurerij || Mense Augusto. Anno salutis. || M. D. XI. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1511

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 227; Köhler, no. 261; VD 16 P 2644

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 97, 121, 118 and 149.

IV PP 17

151 Pirckheimer, Willibald

BILIBALDI || BIRCKHEIMERI DE VERA || Christi carne & uero eius san||guine, ad Ioan. Oecolam=||padium responsio. || NOREMBERGAE APVD IO. || PETREIVM, ANNO. M. D. || XXVI. ||

8°. [66] l. Signatures: A–G⁸, H¹⁰

Printer's device

Nürnberg: Johannes Petrejus, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 615; Köhler, no. 265; VD 16 P 2915

On the title page dedication from Johannes Oecolampadius to Conrad Pelikan and Zwingli: "Pellicano et Zwinglio Oecolampadius". Oecolampadius sent the imprint on April 19, 1526 to Zürich and called Pirckeimer's writing a stupid book ("stultum libellum", z VIII, p. 571). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound together with seven further publications from the 16th century of which nos. 37, 38 and 40 belonged to Zwingli.

III O 210₆

152 Plato

Opera omnia

ἌΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ. || OMNIA PLATONIS OPERA. ||

2°. ([16] l., 502 p., [1] l.; 439, [1] p.). Signatures: 1¹², 2⁴, a–z⁸, aa–hh⁸, ii⁴; A–Z⁸, AA–DD⁸, EE⁴

Printer's device

Contributor: Markos Musuros

Colophon: VENETIIS IN AEDIB. ALDI, ET ANDREAE SOCERI MENSE || SEPTEMBRI. M. D. XIII. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1513

Bibl. reference: Adams P-1436; EDIT 16 CNCE 37450; Germann, no. 163

Few annotations by Zwingli. Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

VE 1

153 Plato

PLATONIS || OPERA ||

2°. [6], CCCLXXXIX, [1] l.: ill. Signatures: []⁶, a–z⁸, &⁸, ρ⁸, 2⁸, A–Y⁸, Z⁶

Contributor: Marsilius Ficinus

Colophon: Venetiis a Philippo Pincio Mantuano hoc || opus Impressum fuit. Anno dñi. M. || cccccxvii. Die.xxii. Aprilis. ||

Venice: Filippo Pinzi, 1517

Bibl. reference: Adams P-1442; Köhler, no. 267; Germann, no. 219

On the title page previous owner's notice: "ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγγλιῶν". Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe".

VE 4

154 Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Gaius

C. PLINII SECVNDI VERONENSIS HISTO=||RIÆ NATVRALIS. LIBRI. DECEM ET ||
SEPTEM. PRIMI VOLVMINIS. || AB ALEXANDRO BENEDI|CTO VE. PHYSICO ||
EMENDATIO||RES RED||DITI. ||

F. aaa₁recto: C. PLINII SECVNDI VERONENSIS HISTO=||RIÆ NATVRALIS. LIBRI
DECEM ET || OCTO. SECVNDI VOLVMINIS. || AB ALEXANDRO BENEDI|CTO
VE.PHYSICO || EMENDATIO||RES RED||DITI. ||

2 parts ([28], 438 [= 440]; [16], 680 [= 380], [36] l.). Signatures: aaa-ccc⁸, ddd⁴,
a-z⁸, aa-zz⁸, aaa-iii⁸; aaa-bbb⁸, A-Z⁸, AA-ZZ⁸, AAA⁸, BBB⁴, CCC-FFF⁸, GGG⁴
Contributor: Alessandro Benedetti

Colophon: HOC OPVS CAII PLINII SECVN||DINATVRALIS HISTORIÆ || FINITVM
FVIT DIE VLTII=||MO MENSIS AVGV=||STI. M.CCCCCX. || LAVS DEO. ||

Place and printer according to Baudrier: Lyon: Balthazard de Gabiano

Lyon: Balthazard de Gabiano, 1510

Bibl. reference: Adams P-1551; Baudrier VII, 24, Germann, no. 425 and 426;
Köhler, no. 270

Our copy is a variation of the abovementioned reference with the following
wording: "AB ALEXANDRO"

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519 (cf. especially on f. aaa_r of vol. 1).

On April 24, 1519 Zwingli wished to have a new edition of the work, which
he received at latest on July 2 (Z VII, p. 163 and 197). Pigskin bindings of the
period.

V P 200 & a

155 Plutarchus

PLVTARCHI OPVSCVLA. LXXXXII. || Index Moralium omnium, & eorum quæ
in || ipsis tractantur, habetur hoc quaternio||ne. Numerus autem Arithmeti||-
cus remittit lectorem ad || semipaginã, ubi tra||ctantur singula. ||

2°. [8] l., 1050 p., [1] l. Signatures: *⁸, a-z⁸, &⁸, aa-zz⁸, aaa-sss⁸, ttt⁶

Printer's device

Contributor: Dēmētrios Doukas

Colophon: Venetiis In ædibus Aldi & Andreæ Asulani Soceri. || mense Martio.
M. D. IX. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1509

Bibl. reference: EDIT 16 CNCE 37429; Germann, no. 158; NUC pre-1956, vol. 462,
p. 213

Annotations by Zwingli before and after July 1519. Pigskin binding, made by the
Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler
Jagdrollengruppe".

V H 17

156 Plutarchus

PLVTAR-||chi Chæronēsis opuscula quædā, || Des. Erasmo Roterodamo, || Stephanano Nigro, || Angelo Barbato, || Bilibaldo Pirckheymero, & || Philippo Melanchthone Bret-||tano, interpretibus. || Quorum catalogū sequentis pagellæ elenchus indicabit. || APVD INCLYTAM || BASILEAM. ||

4°. 194 p., [1] l. Signatures: A–Z⁴, Aa⁶

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Angelo Barbato; Desiderius Erasmus; Philipp Melancthon; Stephanus Niger; Willibald Pirckheimer

Colophon: BASILEÆ APVD IO||ANNEM FROBE||NIVM MENSE || SEPTEMBRI. || ANNO M. D. XVIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 36; VD 16 P 3748

Few annotations by Zwingli on p. 61, 79, 89 and 165. Pigskin binding of the period by the bookbinder Mathias from Basle. Bound with nos. 75, 77 and 81.

III D 440₂

157 Plutarchus

Vitæ parallelae

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΑΡΆΛΛΗΛΑ ἘΝ || ΒΙΟΙΣ || ἙΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ || ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. μθ'. || PLVTARCHI QVAE VOCANTVR PA-||RALLELA. HOC EST VITAE IL-||LVSTRIVM VIRORVM GRAE-||CINOMINIS AC LATI-||NI, PROVTVQVAEQVE || ALTERI CONVE-||NIRE VIDEA-||TVR, DIGE-||STAE. ||

2°. [4], 345, [1] l. Signatures: *⁴, αα–zψ⁸, αααα–ttττ⁸, uuuu¹⁰

Printer's marks

Contributor: Giovanni Francesco Torresano

Colophon: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, || ET ANDREAE SOCERI, || MENSE AVGVSTO. || M. D. XIX. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1519

Bibl. reference: Adams P-1609; Edit 16 CNCE 60587

On the title page previous owner's note: "ἐπὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου". Very few annotations by Zwingli, for example on p. 10. Zwingli wrote to Oecolampadius and Wolfgang Capito on November 29, 1526, that the *Vitae* of Plutarchus were useful to read, but that this edition of Aldus would be too expensive. He therefore tried to win Cratander via Oecolampadius for a two-volume edition, and that at the next spring fair, the first volume would be published, at the fall fair the second. If the scholars from Strasbourg, Basle and Nuremberg would also be interested, Cratander could certainly sell a few hundred copies. Oecolampadius replied to Zwingli on December 1, 1526 (Z VIII,

p. 789), that he feared that Cratander had no time for the project, because he was busy with other works by Hesychius, Theophylactus and Oecolampadius. Zwingli appreciated Plutarch not so much because of his style, but much more because of his well-readable presentation of the subject. Pigskin binding of the period.

V H 16

158 Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Francesco

Facetiae

F[2]recto: Pogii Florentini oratoris clarissimi || mi facetiarum liber incipit foelicit. || ... ||

4°. [66] l.

Imprint according to Copinger: Rome: Eucharius Silber, about 1480/82

Rome: *Eucharius Silber, about 1480/82*

Bibl. reference: Copinger 4788, Type: 2: 88/9; Germann, no. 122

Few annotations by Zwingli after July 1519. The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Half leather binding of the period. Rubricated in red. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140 and 183.

Ink K 343₁₄

159 Poliziano, Angelo

Opera

OMNIA OPERA ANGELI Politiani, et alia || quædam lectu digna, quorum nomina in se-||quenti indice uidere licet. ||

2°. [452] l.

Contributors: Alexander Aphrodisiensis; Athanasius Presbyter; Epictetus; Herodianus Historicus; Plutarchus; Alexander Sartius

Colophon: Venetiis in ædibus Aldi Romani mense Iulio M. IID. || Impetrauimus ab Illustrissimo Senatu Veneto in || hoc libro idem quod in aliis nostris. ||

Venice: *Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1498*

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 224; H 13218

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, especially to Politianus's Latin translation of the Greek *Historiae de imperio post Marcum vel de suis temporibus liber* by Herodianus. Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called "Basler Jagdrollengruppe". Not rubricated.

Ink K 265

160 Pompeius Trogus

IVSTINI || HISTORICI CLARISSIMI IN TRO||gi Pompeij historias libri quadrag-
 intaqua=||tuor, à Ioan. Sichardo summa diligen=||tia recogniti & illustrati. ||
 Quibus adiecimus, certo consilio, Sex. Aurelium || Victorem, qui Cæsarum
 uitas à D. Augusto ad Theo||dosium usque, historia prosequutus est. || Cum
 Indice. || BASILEAE, APVD ANDREAM CRA-||TANDRVM, An. M. D. XXVI. ||

8°. [4] l., 371, [1] p., [20] l. Signatures: a⁴, b–z⁸, A–C⁸, D⁶

Contributors: Marcus Iunianus Iustinus; Johann Sichard; Sextus Aurelius Victor
 Printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE, PER ANDREAM CRA=||TANDRVM, MENSE IANVARIO, ||
 ANNO M. D. XXVI. ||

Basle: Andreas Cratander, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 431.1; VD 16 T 2050

Very few annotations by Zwingli, for example on p. 5. According to Pellican's
 catalogue of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich (Germann,
 no. 431.1) it was bound together with no. A 69 until the second half of the
 16th century. The pigskin binding after the separation of A 69 was made by
 the Zürich bookbinder Jörg Schwyzer (1533–1613).

V Q 110

161 Pomponius Laetus, Julius

OPERA POMPO=||NII LAETI. || Romanæ historiæ compendium, ab interitu ||
 Gordiani Iunioris vsq3 ad Iu=||stinum tertium. || POMPONIVS. || De Romano-
 rum Magistratibus. || De Sacerdotiis. || De Iurisperitis. || De legibus ad .M.
 Pantagathum. || ITEM. || De Antiquitatibus vrbis Romæ libellus, qui || Pom-
 ponio adscribitur. || POMPONI || Epistolæ aliquot familiares. || Pomponij
 vita, per .M. Antonium Sabellicum || Index præterea est hic additus, qui in
 prio=||ri impressione desyderabatur. ||

4°. [18], LXVII, [1] l. Signatures: a⁸, b⁴, c⁶, b⁸c⁴–k⁸l⁴, m⁸

Title page border

Contributors: Nikolaus Gerbel; Marcus Antonius Sabellicus

Colophon: Argentorati ex Aedibus Schurerianis || Mense Octobri. Anno a Chris-
 to || nato. M. D. XV. ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1515

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 42; Ritter II, 1912 (Variante), VD 16 P 4147

Late Gothic leather binding by the so called “Laus Deo II”-workshop from
 Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the
 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 59, 70 and 170.

III M 752

162 Probus, Marcus Valerius

IN HOC LIBELLO || SVBIECTA CONTI||NENTVR. || VALerij probi interpretamenta
litterarum singulariũ || in antiquitatibus Romanis cum pl̃risq3 circa sin=||
gulas litteras additionibus. || Idem Valerius Probus || de abbreviatoris. ||
Nominum ciuium Ro=||manorum || In lureciuili de legibus. || & pl̃biscitis ||
De actionibus. || De edictis perpetuis. || De ponderibus. || De numeris. || POM-
PONII LAETI || LIBELLVS DE ROMANORVM MAGI=||STRATIBVS. || Idem de
Sacerdotijs Ro. || Idem de diuersis Legibus Ro. ||

4^o. [24], XII, [4] l. Signatures: []², A–C⁶, D⁴, E–F⁶, G⁴

F. D₄ and signatures E–G (= Pomponii Laeti Libellus ...) are missing

Contributors: Dietrich Gresemund; Peter Günther; Iulius Pomponius Laetus;
Jakob Wimpfeling

Colophon: IMPRESSVM OP.||PENHEIM. ANNO. || DOMINI. MILLESI-||MO.
QVINGENTESI||MO DECIMO. ||

Printer according to VD 16: Jakob Köbel

Oppenheim: Jacob Koebel, 1510

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 46; Köhler, no. 319; VD 16 P 4934

Very few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, for example on f. A₄v. Pigskin
binding from the workshop of Johannes Murer (cf. stamp with a Lion with
wings, proved from 1484–1522, EBDB s025973). Bound with nos. 23, 96, 120,
145 and 146.

V S 1756

163 Regiomontanus, Johannes

Calendarium

In laudem Calendarij a Johanne de mon-||te regio Hermanorum decoris nostre
etatis Astro-||nomoꝝ principis editi Jacobi Sentini Ricinensis || Carmina. ||
... ||

4^o. [28] l. Signatures: a¹⁰, b⁸, c¹⁰

Title page border

First page has woodcut ornamental border and first few lines printed in red
Tables and diagrams printed in red and black. 4 leaves full page plates at end,
one with volvelle.

Contributors: Jacobus Sentinus; Johannes Lucilius Santritter

Printer's name is given in a verse on a₁verso: Hoc Augustensis ratdolt Germanus
Erhardus || dispositis signis vindiq3 pressit opus. || Verse ends with: Anno S.
1485. Jdus Octobri Venetijs. ||

Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 293; Goff R-96; HC 13779

Calf leather binding of the period with single stamps: "Herz" EBDB s023534,

“Blüte” EBDB 5023541 u.a. (workshop “Herzblüte”, Southern Germany), restored. Not rubricated. Bound with no. 108, which was used by Zwingli in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich.

Ink K 294₂

164 Reuchlin, Johannes

De rudimentis hebraicis

PRINCIPIVM || LIBRI ||

F.verso: Liber. || IOANNIS REUCHLIN PHORCENSIS || LL. DOC. AD DIONYSIVM FRATREM || SVVM GERMANVM DE RVDIMENTIS || HEBRAICIS LIBER PRIMVS ||

2°. [1], 620 [= 622], [5] p.

Author and title according to Reuchlin's dedication to his brother Dionysius.

Woodcut, printer's device

Contributor: Johann Setzer

Colophon: PHORCE IN AEDIB. THO. || ANSHELMI SEXTO. KAL. || APRILES. ANNO. MD.VI. ||

Pforzheim: Thomas Anshelm, 1506

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 146; Köhler, no. 227; VD 16 R 1252

Ohne Lagebezeichnungen. Unpaginated page between p. 261 and p. 262; between p. 450 and 451 a [bland?] l. cut out. Between pp. 456–457 text is missing. Pages 543–544 omitted, between p. 588 and p. 589 inserted a leaf with the page number 589 (reverse unpaginated), page number 616 repeated. (Reuchlin's emblem) on p. [623].

On p. [623]: “ἐν τῷ Ζιγγλίου”. and on p. [625]: “ἐν τῷ Ζιγγλίου”. Copious marginalia by Zwingli before and after July 1519.

VL 8

165 Reuchlin, Johannes

Joannis Reuchlin Phor||censis Sergius uel Capitis caput || cum cōmentario Georgij || Simler Vuimpinēsis. ||

4°. [1] l., 87, [1] p., [5] l. Signatures: a⁶, b⁴, c⁶, d⁴, e⁶, f–g⁴, h⁶, i⁴, k⁶

Printer's device

Contributor: Georg Simler

Colophon: Phorce in aedibus Thomae Anshelmi || Anno. M.D.VIII.mense || Aprili. ||

Pforzheim: Thomas Anshelm, 1508

Bibl. reference: Benzing (Reuchlin) 42; Germann, no. 39; Köhler, no. 278; VD 16 R 1287

On the title pag Zwingli wrote the following Latin distich:¹⁹

V[Iricus] Z[uinglius] ad E E

Excitat ut catulos rugitu seva Leena

Sic nos dulcisonans vox tua amata foveat

Marginalia by Zwingli before July 1519. Leather binding of the period by the so called “Laus Deo II”-workshop from southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. 003647. Bound with nos. 2, 68, 69 and 184.

III M 81₃

166 Reuchlin, Johannes

DE ACCEN||TIBVS, ET ORTHOGRA||PHIA LINGVAE HEBRAI||cæ, à Iohanne

Reuchlin Phorcensi || LL .Doctore Libri Tres Car||dinali Adriano dicati. ||

4°. LXXXIII, [5] l. Signatures: a–t⁴, v–x⁶

Title page woodcut, printer’s device

Colophon: Hagenoæ in ædibus Thomæ Anshelmi Badensis || Anno M.D. XVIII.

Mense Februario. ||

Hagenau: Thomas Anshelm, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 457; Köhler, no. 280: VD 16 R 1234

Annotated by Zwingli after July 1519. On the flyleaf table of contents by Zwingli.

Bound in vellum.

V L 34

167 Rhegius, Urbanus

RESPON||SIO VRBANI RHEGII AD DV=||os libros primum & tertium de Mis=||sa

Ioannis Eccij quibus, Missam esse || Sacrificium ex scripturis osten=||dere,

& aduersæ partis || obiecta diluere co=||natur. || Duæ item Epistolæ, prior

Eccij, al=||tera Vrbani, è quibus lector faci=||lius intelliget, cur iâmprius ||

hic libellus sit editus. || Omnis dissertatio nostra huc spectat, || pie Lector,

ut abusus & hominum in=||uentunculæ à sacro sancto dominicæ || Cœnæ

Mysterio tollantur. || M. D. XXIX. ||

8°. [132] l. Signatures: A–Q⁸, R⁴

Title page border, printer’s device

Contributor: Johannes Eck

Colophon: EXCVDEBAT AV=||gustæ per Heinricum Stainer, || Mense Feb. XVI.

Anno || M. D. XXIX. ||

Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1529

¹⁹ See p. 22.

Bibl. reference: Köhler, no. 282; VD 16 R 1876

Wolfgang Wackinger (Berkinger) from Augsburg announced the work to Zwingli in a letter of December 2, 1528 (Z IX, p. 610), and promised delivery to him. Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer. Bound with nos. 33, 41, 46, 66, 94, 119 and 135.

III B 135₃

168 Ricchieri, Lodovico

LVDOVICI CAELII RHO||DIGINI LECTIIONVM || ANTIQVARVM || LIBRI XVI. || IO.
FROB. CANDIDO LECTORI, S. D. || ... ||

2°. [40] l., 862 p., [1] l. Signatures: α⁸, β⁶–δ⁶, aa⁶, bb⁸, a–z⁶, A–Z⁶, Aa–Zz⁶, Aaa–Ccc⁶

Printer's devices

Contributor: Johann Froben

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD || IOANNEM FRO||BENIVM M. || MARTII D. XVIII. ||
ANNO A CHRISTO || NATO M. D. XVII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 228; Köhler, no. 344; VD 16 R 2164

On January 26, 1518 (Z VII, p. 78), Conrad Brunner from Basle wrote to Zwingli that he would be able to send him Froben's printed editions of Coelius Rhodiginus and Chrysostomus, but it is not known, if he really did send the books. The volume contains only a few marginal notes, some may be from Zwingli. Pigskin binding by the Zürich bookbinder Michael Schwyzer.

VM 1: a

169 Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius

Rapsodie historiarū Enneadum Marci Antonij Loccij || Sabellici Ab orbe con-
dito || Ad annum Salutis humane. 1504. || Pars prima quattuor complectens ||
Enneades Premissis earundem Re||pfortiis et Epitomis. || Venundatur In
Parrhisiorū Academiā Ab Io-||anne paruo: Et ip̄o qui impressit Alcensio. ||

F. ããrecto: Secunda Pars eiusdem Ra||psodie historiarū. M. An||tonii Loccii
Sabellici ab || orbe condito ad Annū salutis. 1504. || Cōtinens Enneades tris.
Quintā || Sextam [et] Septimā cū earūdē Re||pfortiis et Epitomis. || Venun-
datur vbi & reliquę partes ab Ioanne || Paruo & Io. Badio Ascensio. ||

2°. [14], CCCXII l.; [10], CCXXVI l.; [8], CCXIX, [1] l. Signatures: ã⁶, a–z⁸, A–R⁸;
ãã¹⁰, aa–zz⁸, AA–DD⁸, EE¹⁰; ããã⁸, aaa–zzz⁸, AAA–CCC⁸, DDD–EEE⁶

Title page borders, printer's devices

Colophon: Rapsodia Historiarū ab orbe Cōdito in Annū vsq3 salutis nostrę.
MDIIII. Optatū capit || finē in ędibus Ascensianis: Pridie Natalis dñici.
MDIX. ||

Paris: Jean Petit, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1509

Bibl. reference: French Books III & IV, 85370; Germann, no. 240 and 241

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo 11"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647.

IV B 20 & a

170 Sallustius, Crispus

C. CRISPI SALLVSTII DE || coniuratione Catilinæ. || EIVSDEM. || De bello Iugurthino. || ITEM. || C. Crispi Sallustij vita. || ... ||

4°. LXI, [3] l. Signatures: Aa–Bb⁴, cc⁸, Dd–Ee⁴, Ff⁸, Gg–Hh⁴, Ii⁸, Kk–Ll⁴, Mm⁸

Printer's device

Contributors: Balthasar Fidelis; Pietro Crinito

Colophon: Argentorati, Ex Aedibus Schu=||rerij, Mense Decembri. || Anno M.D.

XIII. || ... ||

Strasbourg: Mathias Schürer, 1513

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 42; Köhler, no. 285; VD 16 S 1368

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, for example on f. 45r. Late Gothic leather binding by the so called "Laus Deo 11"-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. w003647. Bound with nos. 59, 70 and 161.

III M 753

171 Stephanus Brulefer

Uenerabilis magistri fratris || Stephani Brulefer Parisiensis or=||dinis minorū Formalitatū Textus || vnacū cōmento perlucido. ||

F. 1recto: Directoriū in formalitates || Jn declarationes idemptitatū et || distinctionū rerū fratris Stephani || brulefer sup doctrinā doctoris subti|| lis Scoti directoriū. ... ||

4°. [6], LV, [1] l. Signatures: 1–6, a⁶, b⁸, c–i⁶

Colophon: ... Jmṑssus opa || [et] ĩpensis magistri Jacobi de pfortzheim || Ciuis Basilieñ. Anno salutis et gratie || Millesimo quingentesimoseptimo. ||

Strasbourg: Jakob Wolff, 1507

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 85; VD 16 S 8916

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 172.

IV S 1142

172 Stephanus Brulefer

Jn reportata Stephani Brule||fer super scripta sancti Bonauẽ||ture Directo-
rium || Secundario emendatũ opus || maturiori diligentia. ||

4°. [20], CCCCXXXIX, [1] l. Signatures: Liber I: a⁸, b⁴, c⁸, a⁸b⁶-g⁸h⁶, i-k⁸, l⁸m⁶-
x⁸y⁶, z⁸, [et]⁶, ȝ⁸, t⁴, ȝ⁸, est⁸; Liber II: A⁸, B⁶, C⁸, D-F⁶, G⁸, H⁶, I-L⁸; Liber III:
AA-KK⁸, LL⁴; Liber IV: MM-SS⁸, TT⁴, VV⁸, XX⁴, YY⁸

Colophon: ... Jmpressa vero || p || magistrũ Jacobũ de pfortzheim ciuẽ || Basili-
ensem. Anno salutis nostre || Mil||lesimo q[ui]ngentesimo septimo. ||

Basle: Jakob Wolff, 1507

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 84 and 85; VD 16 s 8918

Annotations by Zwingli before July 1519, edited in: Bolliger (2003), pp. 643-755.

Pigskin bindings of the period. Bound with no. 171.

IV S 113 & IV S 114

173 Strabo

Strabo de situ orbis. ||

2°. [16], 150 l. Signatures: a-b⁸, c-z⁶, &⁶, ȝ⁶, ȝ⁶, A⁶

Contributors: Antonio Mancinelli; Guarinus Veronensis; Gregorio de Tipherno

Colophon: ... Impressum Venetiis per Bertholo-||meum de Zanis de Portefio.

Anno Domini. M.ccccc.ii. die. xiiii. Ianuarii. ||

Venice: Bartolomeo Zani, 1502

Bibl. reference: Edit 16 CNCE 39172; Germann, no. 232.1; Köhler, no. 295

On the title page previous owners note: "ἐμὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου".

Bound in boards.

V H 11

174 Strauss, Jakob von

Christenlich vnd wollgegrun=||det antwurt vnd hertzlich vermanũg D. Ja=||cobi
Strauss/ Auff das vngüttig schmach=||büchlin D. Johannis Coclei von Wen-
ndel=||steyn/ Betreffen die auffrũr. || ... ||

4°. [30] l. Signatures: A-F⁴, G², H⁴

Imprint according to VD 16: Worms: Peter Schöffner, 1526

Worms: Peter Schöffner, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 300; VD 16 s 9475

On f. H₄verso dedication to Oecolampadius: "Oecolampadio zu S. Martin".

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on October 30, 1526, that he had received two little books by Strauss from Strasbourg, which he had not yet read. Most likely, the present one was one of them and he sent it on to Zwingli (Z VIII, p. 755). Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523.

The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 175, 179 and 195.

III O 173: b₈

175 Strauss, Jakob von

Wider den vnmilten Jrirt||huñ Maister Vlrichs zwinglins/ So || er verneünet/ die warhafftig gegenwirtigkait || dess allerhailligsten leybs vnd blüts Chri=||sti im Sacrament. Doct. Jacobi Strauss || mit ewiger warhait ablenung/ vnd er=||cl[ae]rung/ Darinnen alle fromen chri||sten mit vnüberwündtlicher er=||kantnus der wort Christi den || vergyssten Jrthuñ mügen || entweychen. || Jm jar. M. D. XXVI. Mense Junij. || Margraffen Baden. ||

4°. [16] l. Signatures: A–D⁴

Imprint according to VD 16: Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger

Augsburg: Melchor Ramminger, 1526

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 297; VD 16 S 9515

On f. D₄ verso handwritten dedication to Oecolampadius: “Pio ac sincero verbi dei ministro Ioāni Oecolā=||padio Basilee, apud Divū Martinū.” Oecolampadius sent the book to Zwingli on September 24, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 722). Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174 and 195.

III O 173: b₉

176 Suetonius, Tranquillus

Cōmentationes condite a Philippo || Beroaldo adiecta paraphra=||stica. M. Ant. Sabellici interpretatione/ in Suetonium || Tranquillum/ additis q[uam] plurimis annotamē||tis/ quæ ut facilius cognoscantur || Asterisco * notauimus. || Eiusdem Philippi Beroaldi uita per Barptole=||meum Blanchinum composita. || ... || Venundantur Parrhisiis sub intersignio trium || Coronarum soelicis Colonię Agrippinę || In uico diui Iacobi. ||

2°. [6], CCCXXXIII [= 324], [20] l. Signatures: a–z⁶, &⁶, p⁶, 2⁶, aa–zz⁶, &&⁶, 22–22⁶, aaa–ccc⁶, A–B⁶, C⁸

Printer's devices

Contributors: Filippo Beroaldo; Marcus Antonius Sabellicus

Colophon: Impressum Parrhisiis/ opera cumprimis ho=||nesti uiri Magistri

Ioannis Philippi: ære uero || necnon impensis integerrimorum Bibliopola||-
rum Lodouici Hornken & Godofredi Hit=||torpii. M.D. XII. ||

Paris: Gotfried Hittorp, Jean Philippi, Ludwig Hornken, 1512

Bibl. referene: Adams S-2029; Germann, no. 239

Few annotations by Zwingli before July 1519. He used the work also after 1519, quoting it in his commentaries on Genesis and Jeremiah (Z XIII, p. 216; Z XIV, p. 575; Z XV, p. 106). Pigskin binding of the period.

VW 20

177 Suetonius, Tranquillus

EXRECOGNITI||ONE DES. ERAS-||MI ROTERODAMI. || C. Suetonius Tranquil-
lus. || Dion Cassius Nicæus. || Aelius Spartianus. || Iulius Capitolinus. || Aelius
Lampridius. || Vulcatius Gallicanus V.C. || Trebellius Pollio. || Flavius Vopiscus
Syracusius. || QVIBVS ADIVNCTI SVNT, || Sex. Aurelius Victor. || Eutropius. ||
Paulus Diaconus. || Ammianus Marcellinus. || Pomponius Lætus Ro. || Io.
Bap. Egnatius Venetus. ||

2°. [38] l., 911, [1] p. Signatures: α⁶, β⁸, *², γ⁶, δ⁶, ε⁸, a-z⁶, A-F⁶, G-I⁴, K-O⁶, ω²,
p-z⁶, Aa-Yy⁶, Zz⁸, aa-bb⁶, cc-dd⁸, ee-gg⁶

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Ammianus Marcellinus; Iulius Capitolinus; Cassius Dio; Gio-
vanni Battista Egnazio; Paulus Emeritensis; Desiderius Erasmus; Eutropius;
Aelius Lampridius; Iulius Pomponius Laetus; Sextus Aurelius Victor; Aelius
Spartianus; Trebellius Pollio; Flavius Vopiscus; Vulcacius Gallicanus

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBENIVM. || MENSE IVNIO, ANNO ||
M. D. XVIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 238; VD 16 E 3644

Annotations by Zwingli, especially on pp. 1–167 (to the period from Julius Cae-
sar to Domitianus). Conrad Brunner from Basle informed Zwingli on this
imprint on January 26, 1518 (Z VII, p. 73). Zwingli mentioned Suetonius in
a letter to Ambrosius Blarer on May 4, 1528 (Z IX, p. 454), and quoted Cas-
sius Dio in his commentary on Jesajah (Z XIV, p. 110). Pigskin binding of the
period.

VW 1

178 Suidas: Lexicon

Διάλογος σ[τ]εφαν'ου τοῦ μέλανος. || ... ||

2°. [516] l.

Printer's device

Contributor: Dēmētrios Chalkokondylēs

Colophon: Anno ab incarnatione.M.cccc, lxxxxviii die xv nouembris, Impres-
sum Medioloani || impensa & dexteritate D Demetrii Chalcondyli Ioannis
Bissoli Benedicti Mangii || Carpensium ||

Milan: Giovanni Bissoli, Bendetto Dolcibelli del Mangio, 1499

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 167; GW 44268; HC 15135; Köhler, no. 303

On the title page Zwingli wrote: “ἐνὶ τοῦ Ζιγγλίου καὶ τὸν κυρίον μηδαμῶς καταλ-
λάξω ἐνὶ δατέρου ἀποδανόντος”.

By another hand: “Collegij maioris tiguri post obitum clar[issimi] illius pri-
oris possessoris ab an[no] do[mini] 1534.” Very few annotations by Zwingli.
Pigskin binding, made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-
stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”. Not rubricated.

Ink κ 118

179 Swiss Confederation

Hie nach volgen etzlich Artickel so || gemein Eidgenossen die Schweitz=||er
beschlossen vñ auff das h[oe]chst gebotten ha||ben/ Wie sich yre ver-
wandten vnd vnter||thanen haltē sollen/ gegē yrem Bisch||off vnnd Pries-
tern/ Mess||predig/ Beicht vñ an||dern Sacramēten || Der gleichen auch
gegen || der Lutherischen || sachen. || M.D. xxiiij. ||

4°. [4] l. Signatures: a⁴

Imprint according to VD 16: Erfurt: Matthes Maler

Erfurt: Matthes Maler, 1524

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 565; Köhler, no. 445; VD 16 s 4807

Binding from the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic
Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The
binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the
flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey
library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115,
174, 175 and 195.

III O 173: b₁₁

180 Tacitus, Cornelius

P. CORNELII TA||CITIEQ. RO. HISTORIAAVGVSTA || actionum diurnalium: addi-
tis quinque || libris nouiter inuentis. || ANDREAELCIATI MEDIOLANENSIS
IN || eundem annotationes. || DE SITV, MORIBVS ET POPVLIS GERMA-||niæ
libellus: eodem Cor. Tacito autore. || EIVSDEM DIALOGVS: AN SVI SECVLI
ORA||tores antiquioribus, & quare concedant. || CN. IVLII AGRICOLAE uita,
per eundem. || APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM, EX OF-||FICINA IO. FROBENII. ||

2°. [14] l., 379, [1] p. Signatures: a⁶, b⁸, c–z⁶, A–H⁶, I–K⁸

Title page border, printer's device

Contributors: Andrea Alciati; Beatus Rhenanus

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM || FROBENIVM MENSE AV-||GVSTO,
ANNO, M. D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 233; Köhler, no. 307; VD 16 T 12

On the title page dedication from Johannes Froben to Zwingli: "D. Uodalrico Zuinglio, Io. Frobenius D[ono] D[edit]. Anno M. D. XIX." Few annotations by Zwingli after July 1519 on pp. 1–20 ("Historiarum libri"). Pigskin binding of the period.

V W 18

181 Thomas von Aquin

Quodlibetales questio-||nes sancti Thome ||

2°. 60 l. Signatures: AA–FF⁸, GG–HH⁶

Printer's device

Colophon: Venetus per Bonetum Locatellum presbyterum Man||dato [et]
sumptibus heredum quondā Nobilis viri domini || Octauiani Scoti Mod-
oetiēsis. anno dñi. M.CCCCCI. || octauo idus Aprilis. ||

Venice: Locatello Boneto, Ottaviano Scoto, 1501

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 80; NUC, vol. 590, p. 411

On the pastedown endpaper: "Uldricus Zwingli legenti salutem. Antecessor meus venerabilis magister Joannes Stucki plusculos moriens libros relievit, ex quibus quosdam quom emissem, mox nomine eius denigrato meum subscripsi, quoniam et alii superant preter eos, quos emeram eiusdem nomenclatura presigniti. Ne vel mei empticii suffurati viderentur, vel a non emptis (non inter nostros miscerentur: gestrichen) mixtis [?.]anno internoscerentur. E[x] omnibus ille unus est Quodlibetales Thome Sancti continens Questiones cum Iosepho et Aulo Gelio pro scuto franco emptus."²⁰ Above previous owner's note: "Sum Johannis Stuckij 1501". Leather binding of the period.

4.44

182 Tissard, François

Opuscula

Venales reperiuntur in vico sancti || Ioānis lateranēsis e regione camera=||cēsis collegii apud Egidiū gourmōt || diligētissimū & fidelissimū bibliopolā ||

4°. [90] l. Signatures: A–B⁴, C⁶, D–Y⁴

²⁰ See p. 1.

Incomplete. Leaves after f. R₃ are missing.

Author from f. A₁verso

Printer's device

Colophon: ... || Parrhisiis Impressor. Anno a natiuitate domini || M.CCCC-CVIII. Quarto Calen. Februa. ||

Place of publication: Paris

Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1508

Bibl. reference: French Books III & IV 88925; Germann, no. 47

Annotated by Zwingli. Leather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 21, 35, 89 and 144.

Ink K 350₈

183 *Tractatus de vino et eius proprietate*

F. [1] verso: Genus hominũ hac nostra etate multis laborare || egritudinibus: damnaq3 incurrere nõ modica acce||pi que mea sententia ex alio euenire opinor nullo || ... ||

4°. [8] l.

Imprint according to Goff: Rome: Johann Besicken and Sigismund Mayer, about 1495

Rome: Johann Besicken, Sigismund Meyer, about 1495

Bibl. reference: Goff v-299

The volume belonged to Petrus Numagen (†1517) and came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, where it was used by Zwingli. Halfleather binding of the period. Not rubricated. Bound with nos. 8, 17, 19, 47, 87, 92, 105, 109, 110, 131, 136, 140 and 158.

Ink K 343₁₂

184 *Trithemius, Johannes*

IOANNIS TRITEMII || Abbatis sancti Iacobi apud Herbipolim: quondam vero Span=|hemensis: Liber Octo questionũ ad Maximilianum Cesarem. || Cum priuilegio Cesaree maiestatis denõ imprimẽdo in regno. || imperio. & terris suis nec alubi impressis isthic vëdẽdis intra de=|cenniũ subpenis in priuilegio expressis decẽ marcarũ auri puri et || amissione librorũ eorundem omnium. zc. ||

4°. [40] l. Signatures: A⁶, B–H⁴, I⁶

Title page woodcut

Colophon: Impressum Oppenheym Impensis Iohãnis || Hasselbergeñ/ de Augia Constãtiensis || dyocesis. Anno dñi. M.D. xv. || xx. Mensis Septembris. ||

Printer according to VD 16: Jakob Köbel

Oppenheim: Johannes Haselberg, Jakob Köbel, 1515

Bibl. reference: Adams T-977; Germann, no. 39; VD 16 T 1986

Leather binding of the period by the so called “Laus Deo 11”-workshop from Southern Germany, which was already active during the last quarter of the 15th century. Cf. EDB workshop no. 003647. Bound with nos. 2, 68, 69 and 165.

III M 81₅

185 Ulpianus, Domitius

Orationes

Οὐλπιανου ρήτορος, προλεγόμενα εἰς τε τοὺς ὀλυνθιακοὺς, καὶ Φιλίππικοὺς δημοθένους λόγους || Εξήγησις ανακαισιότη, εἰς δεκατρεῖς του δημοσθένους λόγους] || Vlpiani commentarioli in olynthiacas philippicas q3 Demosthenis || orationes. || Enarrationes saneq3 necessariae in tredecim orationes Demosthenis. ||

[172] l. Signatures: AA–PP⁸, QQ¹⁰, RR–VV⁸, XX¹⁰

Printer's device

Colophon: Venetiis apud Aldum mense || Octob. M. D. III. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, 1503

Bibl. reference: Adams U-49; Germann, no. 155

Few annotations by Zwingli, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, p. 243. Zwingli quotes the work in his commentary on Jesajah (Z XIV, p. 173 and 297). Pigskin binding made by the Basle bookbinder Mathias Biermann with roll-stamps of the so called “Basler Jagdrollengruppe”. Bound with no. 60.

VD 1₂

186 Valerius, Maximus

VALERIUS MAX. || EXEMPLA QVATVOR || ET VIGINTI NVPER || INVENTA ANTE || CAPVT DE O-||MINIBVS. ||

8°. 216. l. Signatures: *⁸, A–Z⁸, aa–cc⁸

Printer's device

Colophon: VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS || ALDI, ET ANDREAE || SOCERI MENSE || OCTOBRI || M.D. XIII. ||

Venice: Aldo Pio Manuzio, Andreas Asulanus, 1514

Bibl. reference: Adams V-92; Germann, no. 407; Köhler, no. 318

On the title page previous owner's note: ἐμὶ τοῦ Zijγγλίου Leather binding of the period.

VP 90

187 Vergilius Maro, Publius

VIRGILIUS.

[8], 234 [= 230], [2], 78, [2] l. Signatures: AA⁸, a–Z⁸, &⁸, ρ⁸, 2⁸, A–B⁸, C⁴, aa–kk⁸

Printer's device

Contributor: Mapheus Vegius

Colophon: Impressum Florentiæ, opera & sumptu Philippi || Iuntæ. Anno à natuitate. D.XVII. Su||pra mille mense Ianua. Leo||ne Decimo Pontifice. ||

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1517

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 412; Köhler, no. 321; Mambelli 135

On the title page previous owner's note: "ἐπι τοῦ Zijγγλίου". Leather binding of the period.

V R 220

188 Vitruvius

De architectura

M. VITRVVIVS || PER || IOCVNDVM SO||LITO CASTIGA||TIOR FACTVS || CVM FIGVRIS ET || TABVLA || VT IAM LEGI ET || INTELLIGI POS||SIT ||

2°. [4], 110, [10] l. (last leaf blank): illustrations (woodcuts). Signatures: AA⁴, A–N⁸, O⁶, P¹⁰

Incomplete, l. PP₁₀ (blank) is missing

Title page border, printer's device

Contributor: Giocondo Fra

Colophon: Impressum Venetiis ac magis q[uam] unquam aliquo alio tempore emen||datum: sumptu mira q3 diligentia Ioannis de Tridino alias Ta||cuino. Anno Domini .M. D. XI.Die.XXII. Maii || Regnante inclyto Duce Leonardo Lauredano. ||

Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1511

Bibl. reference: Adams v-902; Germann, no. 232.2

This title was bound together with Strabo (no. 173). Bound in boards (19./20th century).

V P 60

189 Zasius, Ulrich

EXCELLEN-||tissimi uiri Vdalerici Zasij LL. Doct. || earundēq3 in percelebri Fri-burgensiū || Academia professoris ordinarij lucu||brationes aliquot sanè q[uam] elegantes, || nec minus eruditæ. || Videlicet, || In legem secundam ff. de ori. iur. || In l. frater à fratre ff. de condi. indeb. || In.§ Cato. ff. de uerb. oblig. Scholia || in quibus præter stili nitorem, rara || quædam, iucunda & grata inuenias. || Præter hæc || Antinomiarum aliquot acutissimæ si-||mul & eruditissimæ dissolutiones. || Item || Orationes aliquot uario genere. || Panegyrica una. || Funebris una. || Legales duodecim perquàm doctæ. || APVD INCLYTAM BASILEAM. ||

2°. [4] l., 122 [= 126] p., [1] l. Signatures: a⁴, A⁶, b–i⁶, k¹⁰

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: APVD IO. FROBENIVM || MENSE DECEMBRI, || ANNO M. D. XVIII. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1518

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 191; VD 16 Z 128

On the title page dedication from Johann Froben to Zwingli: "Frobenius Zinglio
Dono misit". Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with no. 141.

III L 70: d₂

190 Zasius, Ulrich

VDALRICI || ZASII LL. DOCTORIS APO-||logetica defensio contra Ioannē
Ecki||um Theologum, sup eo quod olim || tractauerat, quo loco fides non
esset || hosti seruanda. || Videbis lector Eckium Iura ciuilia || non perspecte
intellexisse. || DEFENSA MAGNI ERASMI || assertio, quàm in elegantiss. Scho-
lijs || sup septimo Matthei capite docuit. || Experiēre lector, quàm omnino ||
periculi plenum sit, in alienam ex-||currere professionem. || Huius Apologiæ
velut argumētum est, episto-||lium quod proxime sequitur. ||

4°. 71, [1] p. Signatures: a–i⁴

Title page border, printer's device

Colophon: BASILEAE APVD IOAN||NEM FROBENIVM || MENSE MAR-||TIO.
ANNO || M. D. XIX. ||

Basle: Johann Froben, 1519

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 33; Köhler, no. 323; VD 16 Z 135

On the title page dedication from Johann Froben to Zwingli: "D. Huldericho
Zinglio ex dono Ioannis Frobenij". Zwingli asked Beatus Rhenanus on April
24, 1519, for a copy (Z VII, p. 162). Pigskin binding of the period. Bound with
nos. 45, 78, 80, 95, 130 and 134.

III M 84₅

191 Zwingli, Huldrych

APOLOGETI||CVS ARCHETELAS AD PELLATVS || QVO RESPONDETVR, PARAE-
NE||SI, A. RE. DO. CONSTANTIENSI || (QVORVNDAM PROCACI FA||CTIONE AD
ID PERSVASO) || ad Senatū Prępositurę Tigurinę || quem Capitulum uocant
misę. || Per Huldrychum Zuin=||glium. || ... ||

4°. [40] l. Signatures: a⁶, b–h⁴, i⁶

Title page border

Imprint according to Vischer: Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1522

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1522

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 800; Vischer C 21

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic
Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The bind-

ing was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₆

192 Zwingli, Huldrych

DE CANONE || MISSAE HVLDRYCHI ZVIN||GLII EPICHIREISIS. || ... ||

4°. [28] l. Sinatures: a–g⁴

Title page border

Colophon: Tiguri. Per Christophorū || Froschouer. Anno. || M.D. XXIII. ||

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1523

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 802; Vischer C 43

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₇

193 Zwingli, Huldrych

AD FRIDOLI||NVM LINDOVERVM BREMGARTENSIVM CON||cionatorem super publica de gratia per CHRI=||STVM hallucinatione Expostulatio || Huldrychi Zuinglij. || ... || Tiguri in ædibus Christophori Froschouer, || Anno M. D. XXI-III. ||

4°. [6] l. Signatures: A⁶

Title page woodcut

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1524

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 774; Vischer C 61

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 194, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₈

194 Zwingli, Huldrych

ADVERSVS HIE||RONYMVM EMSERV CANONIS || missæ adsertorem Huldrychi || Zuinglij Antibo=||lon. || ... || TIGVRI IN AEDIBVS CHRISTOPHORI || Froschouer Anno M. D. XXIII. || Mense Augusto. ||

4°. [22] l. Signatures: A–D⁴, E⁶

Title page border

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1524

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 787; Vischer C 62

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 193, 197, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₉

195 Zwingli, Huldrych

Über Johannis Eggen || Missiue vnd embieten/ Den fromen || Vesten/ Ersamen/ Wysen .[et]c. || gemeiner Eydgrossen Bot=||ten zů Baden im Ougsten || versamlet überschicket/ || Huldrychẽ Zwinglis || so vil er dariñ ange||r[ue]rt. Christêlich || vnnd zimlich || verant||wurt. || ... || Getruckt zů Zürich durch || Johannsen Hager. ||

4°. [4] l. Signatures: A⁴

Date of publication according to VD 16: 1524?

Zürich: Hans Hager, 1524?

Bibl. reference: VD 16 Z 911, Vischer D 14

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. The synopsis on the flyleaf was written by Pellican, when he integrated the volume in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich. Bound with nos. 5, 6, 42, 65, 84, 85, 115, 174, 175 and 179.

III O 173: b₃

196 Zwingli, Huldrych

Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals/ Gedechnus/ oder Dancksagung Christi/ wie sy vff Osteren zů Zü||rich angehebt wirt/ jm jar als man zalt || M. D. xxv. || Christus Matth. vj. || kummend zů mir alle die arbeytend vnd beladen || sind/ vnd ich will üch ruo geben. ||

4°. [8] l. Signatures: A–B⁴

Title page woodcut

Colophon: Getruckt zů Zürich durch Christopho=||rum Froschouer vff den vi. tag Aprel/ || jm jar M. D. xxv. ||

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525

Bibl. reference: VD 16 M 4921

At the end of the text additions in Zwinglis hand: "Nun gedenckend lieben brüdern und schwœstern was wir j̃etz nach dem befelch des herren mit einandren geton habend mit der danckbaren gedaechtnuß unserß glaubenß, daß wir alß arm sündler, aber durch den hingebnen lib und vergossenß blut von sünd gereinigt sind und von dem ewigen tod erloest, ouch erbat-

ten christenliche liebe, trüw und dienstbarkeit ye eins gegen dem andren ze zahlen, so soellend wir got trülich bitten, dz er unß allen verlich die gedächtnuß sinens bitteren tods, mit vestem glauben also zû hertzen fassen und staett bÿ unß tragen, damit wir taeglich allem boessen absterbind und zû allem gûten durch sinen geist gesterckt und gefuert werdint, damit got in unß geprisen, der nechst gebesseret und geliebt werde. Gott segne und behuett üch, erluchte sin angesicht über üch und sÿe üch gnedig. Herr, wir sagen dir danck etc wie obstat.”

RP 132

197 Zwingli, Huldrych

AD IOANNIS || BVGENHAGII POMERANI EPISTO=||lam Responsio Huldrychi Zuinglij. || ... ||

4°. [10] l. Signatures: A⁴, B⁶

Title page woodcut

Imprint according to Vischer: Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525

Printing year on f. B₅recto: ... Ex Tigurio, 23. die Octobris. M. D. XXV. ||

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 780; Vischer C 80

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 193, 194, 198, 200 and 201.

III B 128₁₀

198 Zwingli, Huldrych

AMICA EXE=||GESIS, ID EST, EXPOSITIO EVCHARI=||stiæ negocij, ad Martinum Luth=||rum. Huldrycho Zuing=||glio autore. || ... ||

4°. [1] l., 177, [1] p. Signatures: a-x⁴, y⁶

Printer's device

Imprint according to VD 16: Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1527

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1527

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 790; Vischer C 128

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 200 and 201.

III B 128₃

199 Zwingli, Huldrych

COMPLANATIO=||NIS ISAIAS PROPHEAE, FOE=||TVRA PRIMA, CVM APOLOGIA QVR || quidque sic verum sit, per Huldry=||chum Zuinglium. || ... || Tiguri, ex ædibus Christophori Froschouer, || anno M. D. XXIX. ||

2°. [6] l., CXVI, [8], CCXV, [1] p. Signatures: &⁶, a-i⁶, k⁴, *⁴, A-s⁶

Printer's device

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1529

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 563; VD 16 B 3759; Vischer C 165

Very few annotations by Zwingli. Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican (as the volumes III B 128 and III O 173: b). Bound with no. 202 which presumably also belonged to Zwingli.

III B 52

200 Zwingli, Huldrych

AD CAROLVM || ROMANORVM IMPERATO=||rem Germaniæ comitia Augustæ cele=||brantem, Fidei Huldrychi || Zuinglij ratio. || ... || Anno M. D. XXX. Mense Iulio. || ... ||

4°. [20] l. Signatures: A-E⁴

Title woodcut

Colophon: TIGVRI APVD CHRI=||stophorum Froschouer. ||

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1530

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 767; Vischer C 184

Halfleather binding of the period. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198 and 201.

III B 128₄

201 Zwingli, Huldrych

AD ILLVSTRIS||SIMOS GERMANIAE PRIN=||cipes Augustæ congregatos, De conui=||tjis Eccij, epistola Huldr. || Zuinglij. ... || TIGVRI APVD CHRISTOPHORVM || FROSCHOVER, ANNO || M. D. XXX. ||

4°. [16] l. Signatures: A-D⁴

L. D₄verso: ... TIGVRI XXVII.die Augusti. Anno || M. D. XXX. ||

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1530

Bibl. reference: Germann, no. 564; VD 16 Z 775; Vischer C 186

Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Bound with nos. 30, 31, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198 and 200.

III B 128₅

202 Zwingli, Huldrych

COMPLANATIO=||NIS IEREMIAE PROPHETAETAE, FOE=||tura prima, cum Apologia quur quidque sic || uersum sit, per Huldrychum || Zuinglium. || ... || TIGVRI, EX AEDIBVS CHRISTOPHORI FROSCHOVER, || ANNO M. D. XXXI. ||

2°. [4] l. CXC p., [1] l. Signatures: a⁴, b–r⁶

Printer's device

Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1531

Bibl. reference: VD 16 B 3782; Vischer C 203

Presumably belonged to Zwingli. Binding by the Zürich bookbinder Johannes Murer with the characteristic Putto-roll (Putto riding on a bird) with the number of the year 1523. The binding was ordered by Zwingli or the librarian Pellican. Halfleather binding of the period. Bound with no. 199.

III B 52₂

2 Manuscripts

203 Bible. New Testament. Pauline Epistles & Epistle to the Hebrews

Divi Pauli Apostoli epistolae

Manuscript of the Pauline epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews written by Zwingli on the basis of the New Testament by Erasmus of Rotterdam, 1516. The manuscript was used by Zwingli over several years. There are quite a lot of annotations by his hand, edited by Köhler, in: Z XII, pp. 12–104.

[Glarus? and Einsiedeln], 1516/1517.

170 l.

Contributor: Desiderius Erasmus

At the end of the text handwritten note by Zwingli: “Ori[genis] docere aut[em] e[st] p[ro]phetare homel[ia] i[n] Mat[thaeum] 3°, fo. 61 A”.²¹

On the flyleaf handwritten note by the librarian Felix Keller, that the volume was donated by Zwingli's great-granddaughter Anna Zwingli to the City library of Zürich in 1634.

RP 15

204 Halitgarius

[Halitgarius ep. Cameracensis: 1) De vitiis et virtutibus et de ordine poenitentium]: (6v–57r); 2) [Liber penitentialis]: (57–59v).

Germann, no. 304

²¹ See p. 56.

Collection of manuscripts, 10th/11th century, vellum, 242 leaves. Belonged to the holdings of the medieval abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich.
Ms Car. c 176

205 Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius

Commentarius in Esaïam

1) Hieronymus super Isaïam (pp. 1–460); 2) Regula formatarum (p. 460).

Probably Upper Italy, 9th century (ca. 4. Quarter), vellum, 470 pages.

Zwingli used this codex for his scripture study as Leutpriester of Einsiedeln (1516–1518).

Annotations by Zwingli on p. 5, 47c and 63.

Monastery Library Einsiedeln, Codex 125(79)

3 Catalogue A: Lost Books

This list contains imprints and manuscripts which were used or possessed by Zwingli and which are now lost or their whereabouts are unknown. It was not always possible to identify the exact edition that Zwingli read.

3.1 *Imprints*

A 1 Ambrosius (Medioalensis): Opera, Basle 1516.

VD16 A 2178

Köhler, no. 3; Germann, no. 204–206

Zwingli bought this copy probably during his stay in Einsiedeln, but left no traces in the books, which came after his death into the abbey library of the Grossmünster (today ZBZ, call number III L 60 & a, b).

A 2 Amsdorff, Nicolaus von: Vermahnung an die von Magdeburg wider den Rotten- und Sectengeist, 1525.

VD16 A 2400 or A 2401 or A 2402

Köhler, no. 4.

Ludwig Hätzer sent this title to Zwingli on September 14, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 363 f.).

Hätzer wrote: “Mitto tibi hic epistolae huius quavis bovina merda vilioris exemplar, et aliud Nicolai de Amssdorff aequae sordidum.” (“I send here a copy of this letter with the dung of an ox and another dirty writing by Nicolaus of Amsdorff.”)

A 3 Anonymus: *Ars et modus inquirendi et damnandi quouscumque haereticos secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae ...*, Schlettstadt, Lazarus Schürer, 1519.

Köhler, no. 10

Beatus Rhenanus asked Zwingli on January 10, 1520 to disseminate this pamphlet (Z VII, p. 255).

A 4 Anonymus: *Exhortatio viri cuiusdam doctissimi ad principes, ne in decimae praestationem consentiant*, o.O., o.J.

Beatus Rhenanus asked Zwingli on January 10, 1520 to disseminate this pamphlet (Z VII, p. 255).²²

A 5 Anselm of Canterbury: *Dialogus de passione Domini*.

Köhler, no. 5

Zwingli rightly described this dialogue in his *Ein predig von der ewigreinen magt Maria* of September 17, 1522 (Z I, pp. 391–428), as not written by Anselm. It contains a fictional dialogue between Anselm and Mary. Zwingli may be the first critic of this work.

A 6 Appianus: *De bellis civilibus Romanorum*.

Köhler, no. 6.

Zwingli mentions the work in a historiographical overview, which shows that he had read it himself (Z VIII, p. 677).

A 7 Aristophanes: *Comoediae*.

Köhler, no. 7

Zwingli wrote on June 25, 1519 (Z VII, p. 190), to Beatus Rhenanus, that Capito has a volume with Lucian and Aristophanes and that Zwingli wanted to buy it from him. Already on July 2, he thanked Rhenanus that he found an Aristophanes with Cratander (Z VII, p. 191). On the same day Rhenanus wrote to him that the volume costs 5 ¼ guilders (Z VII, p. 193), the equivalent price was mentioned by Simon Stumpf, also in a letter of July 2 to Zwingli (5 guilders and 6 shillings, Z VII, p. 195). On the same day Zwingli sent 7 *Francica scuta* to Brunner to pay for the Aristophanes with the request to give the book to the bookseller Andreas Castelberger, if the volume is bound. If not, it should be bound within eight days and then taken to Zürich by the next bookseller.

²² Dietl (2005), S. 338.

Furthermore Zwingli wrote to Brunner that he would like to have the play *Plutos* by Aristophanes in Latin and asked if he could get it for him (Z VII, p. 197). On July 17, Johann Jakob Ammann confirmed to Zwingli that Brunner was seeking to buy an Aristophanes for him. It was only at the beginning of October 1519, that Brunner wrote that he bought the *Comoediae* by Aristophanes for him (Z VII, p. 209).

A 8 Atrocianus, Johannes: Epigrammata et epistola hortatoria ad bonas literas, Basle, Johannes Faber aus Emmich, 1528.

VD16 A 4012

Oecolampadius sent this catholic pasquil to Zwingli on April 1, 1528 (Z IX, p. 414 f.).

A 9 Augustinus, Aurelius: Enarrationes in psalmos.

See p. 51 and 54.

A 10 Baptista Mantuanus: Bucolica seu adolescentia, in decem aeglogas divisa.

Zwingli quoted the work in the first volume of his copy of the works of Jerome on f. 46v (no. 98).

A 11 Basle [Rat]: Ordnung so ein Ersame Statt Basle den ersten tag Apprilis in jrer Statt und Landtschafft führohn zehalten erkant: Darinnen, wie die verworffene myssbrüch, mit warem Gottesdienst ersetzt: Auch wie die Laster, so Christlicher dapfferkeyt untreglich, Gott zuo lob, abgestellt, und gestrafft werden sollen, vergriffen ist ..., [Basle, Thomas Wolf, 1529].

VD16 B 634

Köhler, no. 414

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on September 17, 1530 (Z XI, p. 129).

A 12–15 Disputation of Berne

Zwingli knew all oft he imprints that were published in the context of the Disputation in Berne and printed in Zürich (cf. Köhler, nos. 22–26):

A 12 Berne [Rat]: Antwort Schultheyssen, kleinen und grossen Radts der Statt Berne, uff die ussgangne Missive der acht Orten Botschaften, zu Lucern versampt, an sy schriftlich gelanget, und demnach in vil truckten Buechlinen ussgespreytet, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1528.

VD16 B 1881

A 13 Berne [Rat]: Gemein Reformation und Verbesserung der bisshargebrachten verwaendten Gotzdiensten, und Ceremonien, die naebent dem Wort Gottes, durch menschlich Güt duncken nach und nach yngepflantzet, und durch des Bapthüms Huffen tratzlich gehandthabet, aber diser Zyt uss Gnaden Gottes, und Bericht sins heyiligen Worts, durch Schultheissen, kleinen und grossen Raedt, der Statt Berne in Uechtland, ussgerüet sind ..., Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1528.

VD16 B 1888

A 14 Handlung oder Acta gehalter Disputation zů Bernen in Uechtland ..., Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1528.

VD16 H 503

A 15 Schmid, Konrad (ed.): Die Predigen so vonn den froemdben Predicanten, die allenthalb haer, zů Bernen uff dem Gespraech oder Disputation gewesen, beschehen sind. Verwerffen der Articklenn und Stucken, so die Widertoeuffer uff dem Gespraech zů Bernen, vor ersamem grossem Radt fůrgewendt habend ..., Zürich, Christoph Froschauer, 1528.

VD16 P 4757

Zwingli must also have known the printed refusal of the Catholic cantons to take part at the disputation from December 18, 1527. Martin Seger from Maienfeld asked Zwingli for a copy on March 17, 1528 (Z 1X, p. 394).

A 16 Bible (OT, hebrew), Venice, Daniel Bomberg, 1521 (4°).

Herbert Migsch: Noch einmal: Huldreich Zwinglis hebräische Bibel, in: Zwa 36 (2009), pp. 41–48. A copy of this Bible belonged to the holdings of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich (Germann, no. 113), before it was very propably in the possession of Zwingli.

A 17 Bible (OT, Prophets): Alle Propheten nach Hebraischer Sprach verteüt-schet ... [by Ludwig Haetzer and Hans Denck], Worms, Peter Schoeffer d. J., 1527.

Köhler, no. 149

Franz Kolb from Berne wrote on May 5, 1527, that Zwingli apparently did not like this Bible. According to the date of the letter there are two editions possible: VD16 B 3720 (folio) or VD16 B 3721 (octavo).

A 18 Bible, NT (german), translated by Martin Luther.

Köhler, no. 206

Zwingli read and used Luther's translation. The first printed NT in Zürich of

1524 was a revised version of Luther's New Testament, printed in December 1523 in Basle.²³ Furthermore Zwingli refers to the NT by Luther for example in his work "Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe" (Z IV, p. 271 and 312).

A 19 Biel, Gabriel: Tractatus de potestate et utilitate monetarum, [Oppenheim, Jakob Köbel, 1515 or 1516].

VD16 B 5413 or 5414

Caspar Hedio sought this work for Zwingli and sent it to him on June 10, 1520 (Z VII, p. 305 and 320). The title appeared in the first third of the 16th century in the German-speaking countries only in these two imprints.

A 20 Borrhaus, Martin: De operibus Dei, Strasbourg, Johannes Herwagen d. Ä., 1527.

VD16 B 6745

Köhler, no. 63

Zwingli wrote to Capito on August 8, 1527, that he had no time to read the book written by Borrhaus, so that he transferred the job to Leo Jud (Z IX, p. 182).

On August 31, 1527 Cellarius (= Borrhaus) asked Zwingli to give a comment on the book (Z IX, p. 182 and 206).

A 21 Brenz, Johannes: Syngamma clarissimorum qui Halae Suevorum convenerunt virorum, super verbis coenae dominicae, et pium et eruditum, ad Iohannem Oecolampadion, Basiliensem ecclesiasten, 1526.

Köhler, no. 304

Zwingli referred to the *Suevorum syngamma* in his *Amica exegesis* of 1527 (Z V, p. 578f.). Capito invited him on July 8, 1526 to write an answer to the German translation of the *Syngamma* (Z VIII, p. 650), which was published under the following title: Gegrundter und gewisser Beschlus, etlicher Prediger zu Schwaben uber die Wort des Abentmals Christi Jesu Das ist mein Leib an Iohannem Ecolampadion geschriben, von newem durch Iohannem Agricolam verdeutstht [sic!]. Aigentlicher Bericht D. Martin Luthers, den Yrthumb des Sacraments betreffend, Hagenau, Johann Setzer, 1526 (VD16 B 7892).

A 22 Bucer, Martin: Grund und Ursach auss gotlicher Schrifft d' Neüwerungen, an dem Nachtmal des Herren, so man die Mess nennet, Tauff, Feyrtagen, Bildern und Gesang ... zů Straßburg fürgenomen ..., [Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel], 1525.

²³ Himmighöfer (1995), p. 85.

VD16 B 8890

Köhler, no. 35

Capito wrote to Zwingli on February 6, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 300), that he could read about the practice of baptism of the Strasbourg theologians in this publication, which he may have sent or knew that Zwingli had it.

A 23 Bucer, Martin: Enarrationum in evangelia Matthaei, Marci et Lucae libri duo: Loci communes syncerioris theologiae supra centum, ad simplicem scripturarum fidem, citra ullius insectationem aut criminationem excussi, Strasbourg, Johannes Herwagen, 1527.

VD16 B 8871

Wolfgang Capito assumed in a letter to Zwingli on February 28, 1527, that Zwingli knew the title (Z IX, p. 61f.).

A 24 Bucer, Martin: Das Martin Butzer sich in Verteütschung des Psalters Johann Pommers getrewlich und christlich gehalten und weder vom Sacrament noch anderm etwas wider die Warheyt oder auch den Pommern drin gesetzt hat: Antwort uff des Pommers Unterrichtung ..., Strasbourg, [Johann Knobloch d. Ä.], 1527.

VD 16 B 8863

Köhler, no. 39

Zwingli referred to this work in his writing *Daß diese Worte: 'Das ist mein Leib' etc. ewiglich den alten Sinn behalten werden etc.* (Z V, p. 975).

A 25 Bucer, Martin: Vergleichung D. Luthers unnd seins Gegentheyls vom Abentmal Christi ..., Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köppel, 1528.

VD16 B 8932 or B 8933

Köhler, no. 40

On 22 July 1528 Oecolampadius sent his own copy to Zwingli, although he assumed that he already owned the work (Z IX, p. 506).

A 26 Felinus, Aretius [= Bucer, Martin]: S. Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati, Strasbourg, Georgius Ulricherus Andlanus, 1529.

VD16 B 3145

Köhler, no. 42

Bucer sent Zwingli proofs of his commentary up to Psalm 22 at the beginning of July 1529 with request for corrections, but Zwingli had no time to do that (Z X, p. 198, 203f., 245). Bucer stated in the first letter that he read Zwingli's commentary on Isaiah in one night. Bucer had tried to write a similar work

for the Psalms at the request of the brothers from France and Southern Germany. He published the work under a different name [Aretius Felinus] so that the books would be bought by the local booksellers because it would be dangerous to import books under Bucer's name.

A 27 Budé, Guillaume: Plutarchi Cheronei de philosophorum placitis libellus elegantissimus.

Zwingli repeatedly referred to this title in his annotations to Plutarch's *Opuscula* (no. 155, p. 309, 311, 312 f., 315, 319, 323 f., 340).

A 28 Budé, Guillaume: De asse; Annotationes in xxiv pandectarum libros.

Köhler, no. 44

Zwingli referred to the work in his commentaries on Genesis and Isaiah (Z XIII, p. 409, Z XIV, p. 160, see also Z XII, p. 110), although it is not clear which edition he used. Perhaps it was the volume that stood in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich and is lost today (Germann, no. 578).

A 29 Bugenhagen, Johannes: In librum Psalmorum interpretatio, Basle, Adam Petri, 1524.

VD16 B 3137 or B 3138

Köhler, no. 45

Zwingli referred in his *Ad Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani epistolam responsio* from 1525 repeatedly to this title (Z IV, p. 559 and 574).

A 30 Bugenhagen, Johannes: Oratio Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani, que ipsius non sit opinio illa de eucharistia, quae in psalterio, sub nomine eius Germanice translato legitur, Wittenberg, Joseph Klug, 1526.

VD16 B 9341

Köhler, no. 48

Capito sent the small book probably to Zwingli on September 26, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 724).

A 31 Bugenhagen, Johannes: Publica de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi, ex Christi institutione, confessio, qua suae fidei de coena Domini reddit rationem ..., Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1528.

VD16 B 9341

Köhler, no. 49

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on September 5, 1528, that he should tell him whether or not he possessed the book; if not, he would send it to him (Z IX, p. 543).

A 32 Paulus Burgensis: Additiones ad postillam Nicolai de Lyra.

Köhler, no. 50

Zwingli mentioned this work in his annotations to the *Breviarium Constantien-*se (no. 36, f. 13v) and to the *Antiquitates* by Flavius Josephus (no. 113, f. 16v).

A 33 Caesar, Julius: De bello gallico.

Köhler, no. 51

Zwingli knew the title according to a letter written on July 30, 1526(?) (Z VIII, p. 677f.). He referred to it also in his *Göttlichen Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz* von 1522 (Z I, p. 180).

A 34 Capito, Wolfgang: Epistola V. Fabritii Capitonis ad Hulderichum Zwinglium: quam ab Helvetiis forte interceptam, D. Ioan. Faber Constantiensis in Germanicum versam depravavit: una cum duabus epistolis, quibus illum concionatores Argentinenses ad collationem scripturarum provocarunt, [Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel], 1526.

VD16 C 822

Köhler, no. 53

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli the title on September 3, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 709), and Capito asked him on October 17, if he liked it (Z VIII, p. 751). It is doubtful whether Zwingli possessed the German translation of this title (cf. Köhler, no. 54).²⁴

A 35 Capito, Wolfgang: KJnderbericht vñ fragstück von gemeynen puncten Christlichs glaubens, Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel, 1527.

VD16 C 835

Köhler, no. 56

Zwingli wrote to Capito on December 18, 1526, that the theologians in Zürich liked his *Catechismus puerorum*.

A 36 Cato, Marcus Porcius: De agri cultura.

Zwingli referred in his commentary on Jeremiah to this work (Z XIV, p. 649).

24 Köhler assumed, that Zwingli may also have possessed Capito's "An gemeyne stend des h. Römischen Reichs, yetzund zu Speier versamlet wider D. Hans Fabri ..." (Köhler, no. 55), but this is pure speculation.

A 37 Disticha Catonis.

Köhler, no. 59

Zwingli wrote to Petrus Gynoraëus on August 31, 1526, that he possessed a Latin-German edition of this textbook (z VIII, p. 703).

A 38 Catullus, Gaius Valerius

Köhler, no. 60

Zwingli referred in his writing from 1527 *Daß diese Worte: Das ist mein Leib usw. ewiglich den alten Sinn haben werden* to Catullus (z v, p. 973).

A 39 Ceperinus, Jacob: Compendium grammaticae graecae, Basle, Valentin Curio, 1522.

VD16 W 2683

Köhler, no. 61

The printer Valentin Curio dedicated the *epistola dedicatoria* to Zwingli (z VII, p. 651f.). Curio asked, to whom else should he dedicate the book than Zwingli, the very learned protector of such studies. Curio says furthermore, that Zwingli is also concerned that the youth would get the right spiritual food.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius: Orationes quatuor in Catilinam, see no. A 194

A 40 Clicthove, Josse: De veneratione sanctorum.

Köhler, no. 64

Zwingli referred to this title without mentioning the author in his *De vera ac falsa religione commentarius* from 1525 (z III, p. 839).

A 41 Confessio Augustana.

Köhler, no. 75

Presumably it was the *Confessio augustana*, which was sent to Zwingli on September 11, 1530 by Georg Herwig under the name *articuli* (z XI, p. 122).

A 42 Cornarius, Janus: In divi Hippocratis laudem praefatio ante eiusdem prognostica, Basle, [Officina Frobeniana], 1528.

VD16 C 5135

Köhler, no. 77

Janus Cornarius applied to Zwingli, on October 15, 1528 for a job in Zürich (z IX, pp. 573–575), but without success. On this occasion he seems to have sent him this short *Praefatio*, which Zwingli passed on via Leo Jud to Christoph Clauser, who became town physician of Zürich in 1531. At the beginning

of December 1528, Clauser asked Zwingli whether he wished to have the *Praefatio* back (Z IX, p. 606f.) and at the same time provided him with the *Aphorisms* by Hippocrates with a detailed preface by Cornarius (see A 43).

A 43 Cornarius, Janus: Quarum artium, ac linguarum cognitione medico opus sit. Praefatio ante Hippocratis Aphorismorum initium, per Ianum Cornarium Zuiccaviensem, habita Rostochii ..., Hagenau, Johann Setzer, 1527.

VD16 C 5140

Köhler, no. 78; cf. no. A 42.

A 44 Corpus iuris canonici.

Köhler, no. 79

Zwingli quoted it quite often.

A 45 Curtius Rufus, Quintus: De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni.

Köhler, no. 80

Zwingli recommended the work on July 30, 1526(?) (Z VIII, p. 678).

A 46 Denck, Hans.

Köhler, no. 85

Petrus Gynoraesus sent Zwingli on August 22, 1526 a German publication of the spiritualistic Anabaptist Hans Denck without mentioning the title (Z VIII, p. 689).

A 47 Dick, Leopold: De mysterio venerabilis sacramenti eucharistiae et Domini coena syllesis sive compilatio, ob quorundam impios caninosque latratus ac mentium misere seductores, omnium facile elegantissima, Augsburg, Simprecht Ruf, 1525.

VD16 D 1397

Köhler, no. 86

Zwingli referred in his work *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und der Kindertaufe* from 1525 (Z IV, p. 319f.) to this title, written by the catholic lawyer, who fought against the Reformation.

A 48 Dionysius Periegeta: Dionysiou Oikoumenēs periēgēsis. Aratou phainomena. Proklou sfaira. Dionysii orbis descriptio. Arati astronomicon. Procli sphaera. Cum scholiis Ceporini, Basle, Johannes Bebel, 1523. Dionysiou Oikoumenēs periēgēsis. Aratou phainomena. Proklou sfaira.

VD16 D 1980

Köhler, no. 88

Zwingli referred to this imprint, edited by Ceporinus, in his preface to the edition of Pindar, printed by Andreas Cratander in 1526 (Z IV, p. 874).

A 49 Dorpius, Martinus: Oratio in praelectionem epistolarum divi Pauli, de literis sacris ediscendis, de eloquentia, de pernicie sophistices, de sacrorum codicum ad Graecos castigatione, et linguarum peritia. Epistola Erasmi ad Dorpium, Basle, Johannes Froben, 1520.

VD16 D 2437

Köhler, no. 90

Froben sent this title to Zwingli on February 7, 1520 (Z VII, p. 263). Cf. the letter from Zwingli to Vadian, May 4, 1520 (Z VII, p. 308).

A 50 Eck, Johannes; Karlstadt, Andreas; Luther, Martin: Disputatio excellentium D. doctorum Iohannis Eccii & Andree Carolostadii quae cepta est Lipsie XXVII. Iunii AN. M.D.X.I.X. Disputatio secunda. D. doctorum Iohannis Eccii & Andree Carolostadii quae cepit xv. Iulii. Disputatio eiusdem. D. Iohannis Eccii & Martini Lutheri Augustiniani quae cepit IIII. Iulii.

Köhler, no. 89

Valentin Curio wrote to Zwingli on May 16, 1520, that Zwingli would possess this "disputatio lutheriana" (Z VII, p. 313).

A 51 Eck, Johannes: Die falsch onwarhaftig, verfürisch Leer Ulrich Zwingli von Zurch ..., Ingolstadt, Peter Apian und Georg Apian, 1526.

VD16 Z 766

Köhler, no. 92

Vadian wrote to Zwingli on May 25, 1526, that he believed that Zwingli possessed a copy of the book. This was probably true, because it dealt with the upcoming disputation in Baden (Z VIII, p. 615).

A 52 Eck, Johannes: Wider den Gotzlesterer unnd Ketzer Cunraten Som, genant Rotenacker Predicanten in der Pfarr der erberen Reichstatt Ulm, Anbi- etung einer Disputation, von wegen des hochwürdigen Sacrament des Altars, Ingolstadt, Peter Apian und Georg Apian, 1527.

VD16 E 440

Köhler, no. 94

Eck sent the small book to Zwingli on December 15, 1527 (Z IX, p. 326; cf. p. 331).

A 53 Eck, Johannes: Sub Domini Ihesu et Mariae patrocínio. Artículos 404 partim ad disputationes Lipsicam, Badensem, & Berneensem attinentes, partim vero ex scriptis pacem ecclesiae perturbantium extractos ..., Ingolstadt, Peter Apian und Georg Apian, 1530.

VD16 E 270

Köhler, no. 96

Jakob Sturm sent Zwingli a copy on May 31, 1530 (Z X, p. 601; he may have sent the German translation: VD16 E 271).

A 54 Eck, Johannes: Repulsio articulorum Zwinglii Ces. Maiestati oblatorum ..., Augsburg, Alexander Weissenhorn, 1530.

VD16 E 417

Köhler, no. 97

Ambrosius Blarer sent Zwingli a copy on August 18, 1530 (Z XI, p. 71).

A 55 Emser, Hieronymus: Canonis missae contra Huldricum Zwinglium defensio, Dresden, Emserpresse, 1524.

VD16 E 1104

Köhler, no. 98

Zwingli read the book according to a letter to Vadian, written on May 16, 1524 (Z VIII, p. 185) and answered with his *Adversus Hieronymum Emserum antibolon* (Z III, pp. 230–287).

A 56 Epistolae obscurorum virorum ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortunum Gratium Dallventriensem Coloniae Agrippinae bonas litteras docentem ..., Nürnberg, Friedrich Peypus, 1516.

VD16 E 1721

Köhler, no. 99

Glareanus sent the title to Zwingli on October 25, 1516 (Z VII, p. 47).

A 57 Erasmus, Desiderius: Expostulatio Jesu cum homine, [Strasbourg 1514].²⁵

Köhler, no. 101

Zwingli wrote in his *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden* from July 1523, that he read this poem by Erasmus eight or nine years ago (Z II, p. 217).

25 Cf. Farner (1946), vol. 2, pp. 144–146.

A 58 Erasmus, Desiderius: In epistolam Pauli ad Romanos paraphrasis, Basle, Johann Froben, 1518.

VD16 E 3056

Köhler, no. 108

Conrad Brunner sent Zwingli a copy on January 26, 1518 (Z VII, p. 73).

A 59 Erasmus, Desiderius: Paraclesis, Basle, Johann Froben, 1519.

VD16 E 3273 or E 3274

Köhler, no. 109

Zwingli ordered a copy for Myconius on February 22, 1519 (Z VII, p. 139). It can be assumed that he possessed the work himself.

A 60 Erasmus, Desiderius: Paraphrases in epistolas Pauli, ad Timotheum duas, ad Titum unam et ad Philemonem unam, Basle, Johann Froben, 1520.

VD16 E 3328

Köhler, no. 115

Jacob Nepos wrote to Zwingli on April 17, 1520, that the book would soon be sent to him (Z VII, p. 302; cf. *ibid.*, p. 251).

A 61 Erasmus, Desiderius: Spongia adversus aspergines Hutteni, Basle, Johann Froben, 1523.

VD16 E 3640, 3641 or 3642

Köhler, no. 118

The printed *epistola dedicatoria* was dedicated by Erasmus to Zwingli (Z VIII, p. 119f.).

A 62 Erasmus, Desiderius: Hyperaspistes diatribae adversus servum arbitrium Martini Lutheri, Basle, Johann Froben, 1526.

VD16 E 3028 or 3029

Köhler, no. 120

Zwingli announced this title to Vadian in the beginning of March 1526 of which he had seen a page (Z IX, p. 543f.).

A 63 Erasmus, Desiderius: Epistolae tres, nuper in apertum prolatae. Ad christianissimum regem Franciscum. Ad parlamentum. Ad theologicam facultatem, s.l., s.a.²⁶

Köhler, no. 121

26 This rare print was published online: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=mmZPAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP11&hl=de&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli the book on January 15, 1527 (Z IX, p. 22; cf. *ibid.* p. 5).

A 64 Erasmus, Desiderius: *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores.*

Köhler, no. 122

All the editions of the poem *Expostulatio Jesu cum homine*, which appeared in 1512, 1513 and 1514 in the German-speaking countries contained also *De ratione* by Erasmus (cf. VD16 E 3531, 3532 and 3533).

A 65 Etymologicum magnum graecum, ed. by Markos Musuros, with contributions of Johannes Gregoropulus, Venice, Zachrias Kallierges for Nicolaos Blastos and Anna Notaras, 1499.

GW 9426

Köhler, no. 123

Zwingli may have used this edition, which was available in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich (Germann, no. 159). He referred to it in his *Christlichen Antwort Zürichs an Bischof Hugo* of August 1524 (Z III, p. 209). Glareanus wrote to Zwingli on October 25, 1516 that he should contact him if he needed a Greek dictionary (Z VII, p. 48). Three years later, on April 24, 1519, the Zürich reformer let his colleague Beatus Rhenanus in Basle know that he was still searching for such a reference book (*Etymologicon*) (Z VII, p. 163). Whether he got it, is not known. As mentioned, the *Etymologicon magnum Graecum* was available to him in the abbey library in Zürich, although it is not known, when the library bought it.

A 66 Euripides: *Tragoediae duae, Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide, latinae factae*, Des. Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, Basle, Johann Froben, 1518.

VD16 E 4238

Köhler, no. 124

On February 7, 1520, Hieronymus Froben sent his personal copy to Zwingli, assuring him in April that he could keep it until he had found another one for him. Nevertheless, he demanded it back in the fall. Zwingli then sent three guilders to Beatus Rhenanus on October 12, 1520, in order to obtain a copy (Z VII, p. 354).

A 67 Eusebius: *Historia ecclesiastica.*

Köhler, no. 125

Zwingli referred to it during the first Zürich disputation of January 29, 1523 (Z I, p. 524), but it seems that he did not own a copy. He asked Jacobus Nepos

on April 17, 1520, to send him the book, but there was none available (Z VII, p. 302). Zwingli may have used a copy of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich (Germann, nos. 75 and 173).

A 68 Fabri, Johann: *Declamationes divine de humane vite miseria*, Augsburg, Johann Miller, 1520.

VD16 F 199

Köhler, no. 126

Fabri sent Zwingli the book on October 18, 1520 (Z VII, p. 357).

A 69 Fabri, Johann: *Ad serenissimum principem Ferdinandum archiducem Austriae, Moscovitarum iuxta mare glaciale religio*, Basle, Johannes Bebel, 1526.

VD16 F 189

Köhler, no. 127

Zwingli referred in his *Die andere Schrift an Dr. Johann Faber* from May 1526 to this publication (Z V, p. 122, 127 and 139).

A 70 Fabri, Johann: *Ein Sandtbrieue Doctor Johann Fabri an Ulrich Zwinglin, Maister zû Zürich von wegen der künfftigen Disputation, So durch gemeyn Aydtgnossen der zwoelff Ort auff den sechtzehenden Tag May nechst künfftigen Baden im Ergoew fürgenommen unnd aussgeschriben ist*, Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart d. Ä., 1526.

VD16 F 227

Köhler, no. 128

Zwingli answered in April 1526 on this book with his *Über den ungesandten Sendbrief Fabers Zwinglis Antwort* (Z V, pp. 34–94).

A 71 Fabri, Johann: *Neüwe Zeitung und heimliche wunderbarliche Offenbarung etlicher Sachen und Handlungen so sich vff dem Tag der zû Baden in Ergoew ... vff den sechßundtzwentzigsten Tag des Brachmonats. Im Jar tausent fünffhundert und xxvi. gehalten worden zûgetragen und begeben hat ...*, Freiburg i. Br., Johann Wörlin, 1526.

VD16 F 216

Köhler, no. 130

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli this *Fabrilia* on July 18, 1526 to Zwingli (Z VIII, p. 666; cf. *ibid.* p. 679).

A 72 Fenestella, Lucius: *De magistratibus sacerdotiisque Romanorum*; Pomponio Leto: *De magistratibus et sacerdotiis Romanorum*; Valerius Probus: *De litteris antiquis*.

Germann, no. 431.2; the title was bound together with no. 160 and is today lost.

It may have been the edition, which was printed by Valentin Curio in Basle in 1523 (VD16 F 1641).

A 73 Franciscus de Maironis: In quatuor libros sententiarum.

Köhler, no. 221

Zwingli quoted this title in his *De convitiis Eckii* from 1530 (Z VI/3, p. 267).

A 74 Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades

Köhler, no. 135

Johannes Xyloctetus left with Zwingli two imprints by Basilius Magnus and Fulgentius and asked him on October 16, 1522, if the bookbinder bound the works together (Z VII, p. 597).

A 75 Gaguin, Robert: Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum.

Köhler, no. 136

Zwingli recommended the book for reading together with other historians (Z VIII, p. 678). He may have known the copy of his colleague Erasmus Fabritius from Stein am Rhein (see Germann, no. 677), which probably came in the possession of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich during Zwingli's lifetime. He corresponded with Fabritius since 1518 and sought to win him in 1521 as a pastor in Baden (Z VII, p. 84).

A 76 Gast, Hiob: Ex vetustissimis orthodoxorum patrum, Cypriani, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, Isichii, et Pascasii, de genuino eucharistiae negotii, intellectu et usu, libellus, ex divinis scripturis, ab iisdem dexterrime conflatus. Contra omneis vesano sacramentario spiritu vertiginosos, Hagenau, Johannes Setzer, 1528.

VD16 G 518

Köhler, no. 137

Zwingli referred to this work in his publication *Über D. Martin Luthers Buch, Bekenntnis genannt, zwei Antworten von Johannes Oecolampad und Huldrych Zwingli* from August 1528 (Z VI/2, p. 248).

A 77 Gaza, Theodoros: Liber quartus & ultimus de constructione. R. Croco Britanno interpretaete, Leipzig, Valentin Schumann, 1516.

VD16 T 813

Köhler, no. 311

Zwingli wrote to Oswald Myconius in Lucerne on November 26, 1519, that Rudolph Collin should send him back his *quartum latinum*, written by Theodoros Gaza (Z VII, p. 231). Zwingli meant very probably this title.

A 78 Gellius, Aulus: *Noctes attica*.

Zwingli owned an edition (no. 91), but Conrad Brunner was looking for a new one for him in 1518/19.²⁷

A 79 Gratianus de Clusio: *Decretum Gratiani*.

Zwingli referred to this title in his commentary on Jeremiah (z xv, p. 119). He used probably a copy of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich (cf. Germann, nos. 330, 331 and 334).

A 80 Gregorius Magnus: *XL homiliarum in evangelia libri duo*.

Zwingli referred to this title in a handwritten annotation to the *Adagia* (no. 71, p. 135) by Erasmus and quoted the title in his works more than thirty times.

A 81 Gregorius Nazianzenus: *Orationes sex in natalem salvatoris, in festum epiphanorum, in sanctum lavacrum, in sanctam resurrectionem, in sanctam pentecosten, in encaenia sive novum dominicum*, Bilibaldo Pirckeymhero interprete, Nürnberg, Friedrich Peypus, 1521.

VD16 G 3038

Köhler, no. 142

Willibald Pirckheimer announced to Zwingli on November 23, 1519, that he would send this title and a text written by Lucian to him (z vii, p. 228f.). Zwingli confirmed the reception of Lucian on June 17, 1520 (z vii, p. 327). He probably also received then the *Sex orationes* by Gregorius Nazianzenus.

A 82 Grüdt, Joachim von: *Christenlich Anzeygung ... das im Sacrament des Altars warlich sey Fleisch und Blut Christi wid[er] den schedlichen verführischen Irtumb Ulrich Zwinglins zu Zürich, Freiburg i. Br., Johann Wörlin, 1526.*

VD16 G 3504

Köhler, no. 144

Zwingli referred to this title in his *Freundlichen Verglimpfung über die Predigt Luthers wider die Schwärmer* from March 1527 (z v, p. 794).

A 83 Guilelmus Parisiensis: *Postilla*.

Köhler, no. 322

Zwingli refers to it in his *Apologeticus Archeteles* from 1522 (z i, p. 292).

27 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 24r.

A 84 Herodotus: *Historiarum libri IX.*

Köhler, no. 146.

Zwingli referred to Herodotus in his commentaries on the Bible, for example on Isaiah (Z XIV, p. 9 and 317). It is not clear, if he possessed the title himself or if he used a copy of one of his colleagues. In the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich there was a copy of the Greek historian only from 1541 (Germann, Nr. 764).

A 85 Hesiodus.

Köhler, no. 148

Froben bought an edition for Zwingli in 1518 on the Frankfurt book fair.²⁸ He refers to Hesiodus in a letter written to Vadian on January 19, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 294).

A 86 Hesychius Alexandrinus: *Dictionarium.*

Zwingli quoted the work in his commentary on Nahum (Z XIV, p. 819). The abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich possessed an edition, printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1514 (Germann, no. 169).

A 87 Hoen, Cornelis: *Epistola christiana admodum ab annis quatuor ad quendam, apud quem omne iudicium sacrae scripturae fuit, ex Bathavis missa, sed sprete, longe aliter tractans coenam dominicam quam hactenus tractata est, ...*, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1525

Vischer C 75 (not in VD16)

Köhler, no. 156

Zwingli referred to this work in a letter, written on April 17, 1526 to Valentin Crautwald, Caspar Schwenckfeld and the brothers in Silesia (Z VIII, p. 568).

A 88 [Hofen, Thomas von]: *Warhaftige handlung der disputatiö in oBerne Baden, des D.Hanß Fabri, Jo.Ecken, vnnd irs gewaltigen anhangs gegen Joan Ecolampadio vnd den dienern des worts Angefangen auff den xix. tag Maij. An. 1526. Zwingly antwurt auff Ecken, daselbst in geleyt schlußreden, [Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel, 1526].*

VD 16 H 4106

Köhler, no. 18

²⁸ M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 22v.

Zwingli received the small book from his brother-in-law Leonhard Tremp, who got it from the author on July 9, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 655 f.).

A 89 Hofmeister, Sebastian: Antwort uff die Ableinung Doctor Eckens von Ingolstatt, gethon uff die Widergeschrifft Huldrychs Zuinglis uff sin Missiven an ein lobliche Eydgnoschafft, [Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1524].

VD16 H 4306

Köhler, no. 153

Zwingli knew the work (cf. the introduction to Zwingli's *Antwort auf Johannes Ecks Missiv und Entbieten*, in: Z III, p. 296 ff.).

A 90 Horatius Flaccus, Quintus: Opera.

Köhler, no. 157

Zwingli quoted Horace so many times, that he must have possessed an edition of his works. He referred to him even in his commentaries on Genesis, Isaiah and Matthew (Z XIII, p. 142; Z XIV, p. 89; Z XVII, p. 194).

A 91 Hubmaier, Balthasar: Von Ketzern und iren Verbrennern Vergleichung der Gschrifftten, zesamenzogen, ..., Konstanz, Johann Schaffler, 1524.

VD16 H 5653

Köhler, no. 159

Zwingli asked Oecolampadius on October 9, 1524 to send him the book via Christoph Froschauer (Z VIII, p. 226 f.).

A 92 Hubmaier, Balthasar: Von dem christenlichen Tauff der Glaübigen ..., Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, 1525.

VD16 H 5651

Köhler, no. 160

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on October 2, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 375).

A 93 Hubmaier, Balthasar: Ein Gespräch Balthasar Huobemörs von Fridberg. Doctors. auff Mayster Ulrichs Zwinglens ze Zürich Tauffbuoechlen. Von dem Khindertauß ..., Nikolsburg, Simprecht Sorg genannt Froschauer, 1526.

VD16 ZV 23339

Köhler, no. 161

It is possible, that Oecolampadius sent the work to Zwingli on July 19, 1527 Zwingli (Z IX, p. 176).²⁹

29 Cf. Hubmaier (1962), p. 166.

A 94 Hubmaier, Balthasar: Von dem Khindertauß: Ecolampadius, Thomas Augustinianer Leesmaister, M. Jacob Jmmelen, M. Vuolffg. Weissenburger. Balthasar Huobmör von Fridberg, Nikolsburg, Simprecht Sorg, 1527.

Not in VD16.

Köhler, no. 162

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on December 1, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 790), that he received a dialogue that Hubmaier wrote against him and the brothers in Basle. This must be *Von dem Khindertauß*. The writing was intercepted in Basle. Half a year later Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on July 19, 1527 (Z IX, p. 176), that he had already sent to him the small books written by Hubmaier. It is not clear which titles he meant, but it is quite probable that *Von dem Khindertauß* belonged also to them.³⁰

A 95 Hus, Jan: De causa Boemica. Paulus Constantius. Vulgo refragari quosdam celeberrimi Constantiensis Concilii sententiae, qua Hussitae damnati sunt, constat. Quare visum est mihi hunc ea de re in lucem edere librum ut videretur a doctis quibusdam scriptum. Quo palam fiat universo orbi, qua ex causa Hussitae damnati sint, & Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, celeberrimique concilii illibata maneat auctoritas, Hagenau, Thomas Anshelm, 1520.

VD16 H 6174

Köhler, no. 253

Valentin Curio wrote on May 16, 1520 to Zwingli, that Zwingli possessed *De causa boemica* (Z VII, p. 313). Zwingli however wrote to Vadian on June 19, 1520, that he had lent the Hussitic book with the title *De ecclesia caput* to the town clerk Caspar Frei in Zürich (Z VII, p. 328), by which he meant the same book because the text starts with the following words: "Iohannis Hussitae de ecclesia caput primum".

A 96 Hutten, Ulrich von: Dialogus oder ein Gespräch Febris genant ..., Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1519.

Non in VD16, two copies are in the University Library Basle.

Köhler, no. 164

Zwingli wrote on April 24, 1519 to Beatus Rhenanus, that the book *Febris* by Hutten arrived in Zürich and that he should send more copies (Z VII, p. 162).

³⁰ Cf. Hubmaier (1962), p. 256f.

A 97 Hutten, Ulrich von: Phalarismus dialogus Huttenicus ..., Basle, Pamphilius Gengenbach, 1519.

VD16 H 6400

Köhler, no. 163

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus in Basle on April 24, 1519, that Hutten's *Phalarismus* has not yet arrived (z VII, p. 162). It can be assumed that the book arrived later.

A 98 Hutten, Ulrich von: De donatione Constantini quid veri habeat, eruditorum quorundam iudicium Donationis, quae Constantini dicitur privilegium, Bartholomeo Pincerno de monte arduo ad Iulium II. Pont. Max. interprete. Laurentij Vallensis patritii Romani contra ipsum, ut falso creditum et ementium privilegium declamatio, cum Uldarici Hutteni ... ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. prefatione ..., Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1520.

There are two editions, one in quarto, the other in octavo: VD16 ZV 4645 or ZV 4646.

Köhler, no. 165

Oswald Myconius thanked Zwingli on February 27, 1520 for the shipment of the work (z VII, p. 274), from which can be concluded that Zwingli knew this publication.

A 99 Hutten, Ulrich von: Aula.

Conrad Brunner bought the title for Zwingli.³¹

A 100 Hutten, Ulrich von: Dialogi.

Köhler, no. 166

The Basle printer Valentin Curio assumed in a letter, written on May 18, 1520, that Zwingli owned the *Dialogi* (z VII, p. 313).

A 101 Hutten, Ulrich von: Conquestiones.

Köhler, no. 167

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on September 8, 1521, that Johann Froben gave him the book (z VII, p. 472).

³¹ M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 30r.

A 102 Hutten, Ulrich von: Bulla decimi Leonis, contra errores Martini Lutheri. Köhler, no. 168.

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on September 8, 1521, that Johann Froben gave him the book (Z VII, p. 472).

A 103 Isolani, Isidoro degli: Revocatio Martini Lutheri ad sanctam sedem, Cremona, [Francesco Riccardo?, ca. 1520].

Köhler, no. 172

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on September 8, 1521, that Johann Froben gave him the book (Z VII, p. 472).

A 104 Iustinus, Marcus Iunianus: Epitome historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi.

Zwingli's comments on the ancient city of Tyre are based on Iustinus (Z XIV, p. 265).

A 105 Johannes Chrysostomus: In totum Geneseos librum homiliae sexagintasex, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1523.

VD16 J 434

Köhler, no. 68

Zwingli thanked Oecolampadius on October 11, 1523 for a work written by him, which must have meant Chrysostomus's commentary on Genesis. The book had just came out (Z VIII, p. 126).

A 106 Jud, Leo [Pseudonym: Leopoldus, Ludovicus]: Des hochgelerten Erasmi von Roterdam und Doctor Luthers Maynung vom Nachtmal unsers Herren Jesu Christi: neuwlich aussgangen auff den XVIII. Tag Aprellens, [Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1526].

VD16 J 1002

Köhler, no. 174

Zwingli referred to the work in his *Amica exegesis* (Z V, p. 577).

A 107 Justinian I.: Institutiones et Digesta.

Zwingli referred to the work in his commentary on Isaiah (Z XIV, p. 124 and 253; cf. Z XV, p. 147).

A 108 Karlstadt, Andreas: Dialogus oder ein Gsprechbüchlin von dem gewlichen unnd abgöttischen Missbrauch des hochwirdigsten Sacraments Jesu Christi, [Basle, Johannes Bebel], 1524.

VD16 B 6141

Köhler, no. 176

Zwingli wrote on December 16, 1524 to Franz Lambert and other brothers in Strasbourg, that Myconius had sent him the book (Z VIII, p. 276).

A 109 Karlstadt, Andreas: Erklerung wie Carlstat sein Ler vonn dem hochwirdigen Sacrament und andere achtet unnd geachtet haben will, 1525.

1525 have been published at minimum four editions of this title.

Köhler, no. 177

Oecolampadius sent this book to Zwingli on November 11, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 419).

A 110 Keller, Michael [Pseudonym: Ryss, Conrad³²]: Antwort dem hochgelerten Doctor Joan. Pugenhag uss Pomern, Hirt zû Wittenberg, uff die Missive, so er an den hochgelerten Doctor Hesso, Leerer zû Presslaw geschickt, das Sacramentd betreffende, [Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1525].

VD16 K 651

Köhler, no. 284

This Zürich imprint was a reprint of a publication from Ofen in Hungary, which Zwingli mentioned in a letter to Vadian of December 23, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 471). He explicitly pointed out that an oven is shown on the frontispiece, indicating the city of Ofen (Buda). Since neither the two imprints from Augsburg nor the one from Strasbourg show an oven on the frontispiece, it must be another imprint that Zwingli saw and which was reprinted in Zürich.

A 111 Keller, Michael: Ettlich Sermones von dem Nachtmal Christi, ... An vil Orten so im ersten Truck ubersehen ist corrigiert, gepesseret und gemeeret ..., Augsburg, Philipp Uhlhart d. Ä., 1526.

VD16 K 657

Köhler, no. 178

Jörg Regel probably sent this book to Zwingli on May 8, 1527 (Z IX, p. 133 f.).

A 112 Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus: Opera.

Köhler, no. 179

Glareanus bought it for Zwingli, possibly the octavo-edition of 1515, printed by the heirs of Aldus Manutius, as Glareanus informed Zwingli on October 19, 1516 (Z VII, p. 42). Zwingli took the book with him to his stay in the bath of Pfäfers in 1517 (Z VII, p. 66).

32 Finsler (1897), pp. 28–31.

A 113 Laskaris, Konstantinos: Grammatica.

Froben bought in 1518 a copy for Zwingli at the book fair in Frankfurt.³³

Latro, Marcus Porcius, see no. A 194

A 114 Legenda aurea.

Köhler, no. 183

The *Legenda aurea* belonged to the general knowledge of a cleric. Zwingli described them in the *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden* of 1523 as foolish fables (Z II, p. 203). In his commentary on Jeremiah he subsumed them under dreams, stories and fables (Z XV, p. 168).

A 115 Lucianus Samosatensis: Piscator seu reviviscentes. Bilibaldo Pirckheimer ... interprete, Nürnberg, Friedrich Peypus, 1517.

VD16 L 3025

Zwingli knew the work and referred on it in a handwritten annotation in his Greek edition of Lucian (see no. 126, p. 84).

A 116 Lucianus Samosatensis: Dialogi et commentaria.

Froben bought in 1518 a copy for Zwingli at the book fair in Frankfurt.³⁴

A 117 Lucianus Samosatensis: Fugitivi. A Bilibaldo Pirckheimer in latinum versus, Hagenau, Thomas Anshelm, 1520.

Köhler, no. 189

VD16 L 2986

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on June 17, 1520, that he received the work from Pirckheimer (Z VII, p. 327).

A 118 Lucianus Samosatensis: Rhetor a Bilibaldo Pirckheimer in latinum versus, Hagenau, Thomas Anshelm, 1520.

Köhler, no. 190

VD16 L 3035

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on June 17, 1520, that he received the work from Pirckheimer (Z VII, p. 327).

33 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 22v.

34 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 22v.

A 119 Lucretius Carus, Titus: De rerum natura.

Köhler, no. 191

Zwingli referred to Lucretius in his treatise *Dass diese Worte 'Das ist mein Leib' etc. ewiglich den alten Sinn haben werden etc.* written in 1527 (Z V, p. 973). There was no edition available in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich.

A 120 Luther, Martin: Acta Lipsiae. Resolutiones Lutherianae, de disputatione Lipsica. Epitome Philippi Melancthonis, de eadem disputatione. Invectivo Eccii, et modestissima responsio Melancthonis. Ad populum Phaleras, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1519.

VD16 L 5791

Oswald Myconius wanted to send the title to Zwingli, but he owned it already (Z VII, p. 241 and 245).

A 121 Luther, Martin: Disputatio D. Ioannis Eccii, et P. Martini Lutheri in studio Lipsensi futura, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1519.

VD16 E 315

Köhler, no. 193

Beatus Rhenanus sent Zwingli the book on May 24, 1519 (Z VII, p. 176).

A 122 Luther, Martin: Ein Sermon von dem elichen Standt, Strasbourg, Johannes Knobloch, 1519.

VD16 L 6316

Köhler, no. 195

Johann Jakob Ammann sent Zwingli the title from Basle on July 17, 1519 (Z VII, p. 199).

A 123 Luther, Martin: Eyn deutsch Theologia. das ist Eyn edles Buchleyn/ vñ rechtem vorstand/ wz Adam vnd Christus sey/ vnd wie Adam yn vns sterben/ vnd Christus ersteen sall, 1519.

Zwingli expected on June 7, 1519, that Beatus Rhenanus would send him the work (Z VII, p. 181).

A 124 Luther, Martin: Usslegung dütsch des Vatter unser für die einfeltigen Leyen Doctor Martini Luther Augustinusr zu Wittenbergk ..., Basle, Adam Petri, 1519.

VD16 L 4052 oder 4053

Köhler, no. 194

Beatus Rhenanus sent Zwingli the title on July 2, 1519 (Z VII, p. 193).

A 125 Luther, Martin: Mancherley buechlin vnd tractetlin. In welchen ein yegklicher auch einfaltiger Lay/ vil heylsamer Christlicher lere vnd vnderweisung findet ... Jtem Apologia: das ist ein schirmred vnd antwort gegē etlicher einrede/ so geschehen wider D.Martinum Luthern vnd seine ewangelische lere/ mit ... bewerungen/ das seine leere/ als warhafftig/ Christlich/ vnd goetlich anzünemen sey, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1520.

VD16 L 3307

Caspar Hedio wrote to Zwingli on May 18, 1520, that he would send him the German writings by Luther as soon as they were printed (Z VII, p. 316).

A 126 Luther, Martin: In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas ... commentarius, Basle, Adam Petri, 1520.

VD16 B 5067

Zwingli used the book for his Bible study (Z XII, p. 76).

A 127 Luther, Martin: Condemnatio doctinalis librorum Martini Lutheri, per quosdam magistro Lovanien. et Colonien. facta. responsio Lutheriana ad eandem condemnationem, Schlettstadt, Lazarus Schürer, 1520.

VD16 L 2339

Köhler, no. 199

Zwingli thanked Beatus Rhenanus on June 17, 1520 for the book (Z VII, p. 326).

A 128 Luther, Martin: Ein mercklich nütz Predig wie man on Verschuldung mit zytlichem Güt umbgan sol. Jtem von dem Zinsskauff oder iaerlicher Gülte auch von dem Wücher, Basle, Adam Petri, 1520.

VD16 L 6442

Köhler, no. 198

On June 10, 1520 Caspar Hedio from Basle sent this book to Zwingli, who was searching for literature about the tithe (Z VII, p. 320). According to Hedio, the work was printed in Basle within eight to twelve days.

A 129 Luther, Martin: Operationes in duas psalmorum decades, Basle, Adam Petri, 1521.

VD16 L 5540

Zwingli used the book.³⁵

³⁵ See Brecht (1985), p. 313, and Hoburg (1994), p. 210 f., but he did very probably not use the copy with the modern call number 111 M 42 as Germann, no. 711, said. Also the copy with the modern call number B 91 from the Zentralbibliothek Zürich is not the right one, because in both books are no handwritten annotations by Zwingli.

A 130 Luther, Martin: Contra Henricum regem Angliae, 1522.

Köhler, no. 203

Michael Hummelberg from Ravensburg wrote on November 2, 1522 to Zwingli, that he would send him the title, if he did not have it yet (Z VII, p. 607).

A 131 Luther, Martin: De votis monasticis, 1522.

Köhler, no. 202

It was probably this title that Johannes Wanner sent from Constance on May 22, 1522 to Zwingli (Z VII, p. 522).

A 132 Luther, Martin: Von anbeten des Sacraments des heylichen leychnams Christi ..., 1523.

Zwingli used the book for his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 551).

A 133 Luther, Martin: Ain Sermon auff dz evangeli Johannis vi. Meyn Flaysch ist die recht Speyß, und mein Bluot ist dz recht Tranck, Augsburg, Jörg Nadler, 1524.

VD16 L 6122

Köhler, no. 205

Zwingli referred to it in his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 610).

A 134 Luther, Martin: Ein Brieff an die Christen zuo Straßburg wider den schwermer Geyst, 1525.

Köhler, no. 207

Zwingli quoted the book in his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 728).

A 135 Luther, Martin: Erklerung wie Carlstat sein lere von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament und andere achtet unnd geacht haben will. ..., Strasbourg, Johann Prüss d. J., 1525.

VD16 B 6162

Zwingli used the book for his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 551).

A 136 Luther, Martin: Wider die himelischen Propheten von den Bildern und Sacrament (part 1); Das ander Teyl wider die himlischen Propheten vom Sacrament (part 2), 1525.

Köhler, no. 208

Bucer wished in his letter to Oecolampadius from July 8, 1526 that Zwingli would write a reply to the *Wider die himelischen Propheten* (Z VIII, p. 647). Luther's work appeared in two parts in 1524 and 1525. Zwingli quoted the title in his book *Daß dise wort Jesu Christi, Das ist min lychnam der für üch hingeben wirt, ewiglich den alten eynigen sinn haben werdend* (Z V, p. 830).

A 137 Luther, Martin: Eyn Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament des heyligen waren Leychnams Christi. Und von den Bruderschaftten, 1526.

Köhler, no. 197

Zwingli quoted the title in his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 and mentioned, that Heinrich Utinger puted his enquiry on this title (Z V, p. 749). Zwingli sent a copy to Oecolampadius on October 13, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 735).

A 138 Luther, Martin: Sermone von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi, 1526.

Köhler, no. 212

Zwingli received the work from Wilhelm von Zell (Z V, p. 771) and wrote against it his *Früntlich verglimpfung und ableynung über die predig des treffenlichen Martini Luthers wider die schwermer, zû Wittenberg* (Z V, pp. 771–794).

A 139 Luther, Martin: Sermo elegantissimus, super sacramento corporis & sanguinis Christi, in quo respondetur obiter et eiusdem sacramenti calumniatoribus. Et alia quaedam ..., Hagenau, Johann Setzer, 1527.

VD16 L 6649

Köhler, no. 213

Zwingli referred in his *Amica exegesis* from February 8, 1527 to Luther's work (Z V, p. 571).

A 140 Luther, Martin: Das dise Wort Christi (Das ist mein Leib etc.) noch fest stehen widder die Schwermgeister, Wittenberg, Michael Lotter, 1527.

VD16 L 4273

Köhler, no. 214

On April 24, 1527 Oecolampadius offered this imprint to Zwingli (Z IX, p. 100 f.), if he did not have it yet. Only four days later, on April 28, Zwingli wanted to write a refutation (Z IX, p. 115) which was published on June 20 under the title *Daß diese Worte: 'Das ist mein Leib' etc. ewiglich den alten Sinn haben werden etc.* (Z V, pp. 805–977).

A 141 Luther, Martin: Vom Abendmal Christi, Bekendnis ..., Wittenberg, Michael Lotter, 1528.

VD16 L 6986

Köhler, no. 215

Zwingli wrote on June 17, 1528 to Bucer and Capito, that he would read the book tomorrow (Z IX, p. 488). Zwingli finished reading on July 21 and began to write a refutation (Z IX, p. 503).

A 142 Luther, Martin: Die Bekentnus Martini Luthers auff den itzigen angestellten Reichstag zu Augspurgk eynzulegen, 1530.

Köhler, no. 215

Jacob Sturm from Strasbourg sent Zwingli these so-called Schwabacher articles on May 31, 1530 (Z X, p. 602). Luther disapproved their publication.

A 143 Luther, Martin: Kirchenpostille.

Köhler, no. 201

Zwingli referred to this work in his *Über Martin Luthers Buch, Bekenntnis genannt, zwei Antworten von Johannes Oecolampad und Huldrych Zwingli* from 1528 (Z VI/2, p. 136).

A 144 Luther, Martin: Das Magnificat verteutschet.

Köhler, no. 200

Zwingli referred to this title in his *Über Martin Luthers Buch, Bekenntnis genannt, zwei Antworten von Johannes Oecolampad und Huldrych Zwingli* from 1528 (Z 6/2, p. 240).

A 145 Nicolaus de Lyra: Postille.

Köhler, no. 217

Zwingli quoted the work in his *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden* from 1523 (Z II, p. 152).

A 146 Manuel Chrysolaras: Erotemata [= Isagoge].

Köhler, no. 65

Zwingli used the work to learn Greek, as he wrote to Vadian on February 23, 1513 (Z VII, p. 22).

A 147 Marius, Augustinus: Eyngelegte Schrifft auff Anmütung eynes christenlichen Rats der loblichen Statt Basle das Opfer der Mess belangent ..., Basle, Johannes Faber aus Emmich, 1528.

VD16 M 1013

Köhler, no. 220

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on April 1, 1528 (Z IX, p. 416).

A 148 Marso, Pietro: Commentarii officiorum Ciceronis.

Zwingli must have had an edition of Cicero with this commentary during his stay in Glarus, because he referred to it in a marginal note to the *Apologeticus liber* by Gregorius Nazianzenus (no. 96, f. b₄v).

A 149 Melanchthon, Philipp: De rhetorica libri tres, 1519.

Köhler, no. 224

Zwingli wrote to Oswald Myconius on July 24, 1520, that he knew the work by Melanchthon, but that he had never read it completely (Z VII, p. 344).

A 150 Melanchthon, Philipp: Loci communes.

Köhler, no. 225

Zwingli quotes the work in his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 586).

A 151 Melanchthon, Philipp: Themata ad sextam feriam discutienda, Wittenberg, Johann Rau-Grunenberg, 1522.

VD16 M 4319

Köhler, no. 226

On November 2, 1522 Michael Hummelberg from Ravensburg asked Zwingli to read the *De duplici magistratu themata*, by which this title is meant. It was perhaps attached to his letter (Z VII, p. 607).

A 152 Melanchthon, Philipp: Annotationes in evangelium Iohannis, 1523.

Köhler, no. 227

Zwingli quoted the work in his *Amica exegesis* from 1527 (Z V, p. 609f.).

A 153 Melanchthon, Philipp: Ain Schrifft Philippi Melanchthon wider die Artickel der Burschafft, 1525.

Köhler, no. 228

Zwingli wrote to Vadian on October 11, 1525 that Melanchthon had written a German treatise against the articles of the peasants, in which he relied on Luther (Z VIII, p. 382).

A 154 Motis, Giovanni: Invectiva coetus feminei contra mares.

Zwingli read the work probably as a student in Vienna (see p. 3f.).

A 155 Murner, Thomas: Ein worhafftigs Verantworten der hochgelorten Doctores und Herren, die zů Baden uff der Disputation gewesen sint vor den. xij. Ortern einer loblichen Eidgnoschafft wider das schentlich, erstuncken, und erlogen Anklagen Ulrich Zwinblyns, das der fiertzig Mal eerloss diebsch Boesswicht uff die frummen Herren geredt hat und in den Druck hat lassen kumen, 1526.

Köhler, no. 232

Petrus Gynoräus from Augsburg sent Zwingli this title on January 14, 1527 (Z IX, p. 16).

A 156 [Murner, Thomas]: Die Disputacion vor den XII Orten einer loblichen Eidtgnoschafft namlich Berne Lutzern Ury Schvuytz Undervualden ob unnd nidd dem Kernwalt Zug mitt den sampt usseren Ampt Glaris Basle Friburg ... und in dem Iar Christi unsers Erlösers Mcccc und xxvi uff den xvi Tag des Meyens erhöret und zu Baden im Ergöw irer stattgehalten und vollendet, [Luzern, Thomas Murner, 1527].

VD16 M 7033

Köhler, no. 17

Zwingli's first communication on the printing of the documents of the disputation of Baden dates from December 18, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 807). They were quite often the subject of his correspondence. For security reasons Zwingli was not allowed to take part in the Disputation of Baden, but he certainly read the records.

A 157 Nesen, Conrad: Eruditi adolescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani dialogus sane quam festivus bilinguium ac trilinguium sive de funere Calliopes, [Basle, Johann Froben, 1520].

VD16 N 535

Köhler, no. 62

Zwingli mentioned in a letter to Oswald Myconius on January 4, 1520, that the author has enlarged his book (Z VII, p. 251).

A 158 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Dragmata Graecae literaturae ..., Basle, Andreas Cratander and Servatius Cruft, 1518.

VD16 O 310

Conrad Brunner bought the work for Zwingli in 1519.³⁶ This may be the book with the title *Grammatica graeca* in Pellican's catalogue of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, which is lost (Germann, no. 442).

A 159 Oecolampadius, Johannes: De genuina verborum Domini, hoc est corpus meum ... expositione liber, [Strasbourg, Johann Knobloch, 1525].

VD16 O 331

Köhler, no. 235

Oecolampadius promised Zwingli the shipping of a couple of copies on September 16, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 365).

36 M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 30v. Concerning the content of the work, see: Frank Hieronymus: Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen, Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basle 15, Basle 1992, p. 40.

A 160 Oecolampadius, Johannes: In Iesaiam prophetam hypomnematon, hoc est, commentariorum libri VI., Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1525.

VD16 B 3757

Zwingli referred to the work in his commentaries on the Bible (Z XIV, p. 87; Z XV, p. 32).

A 161 Oecolampadius, Johannes: De confessione secreta; Iacobi Latomi theologiae professoris de confessione secreta, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1525.

VD16 M 1343

Köhler, no. 237

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on September 16, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 366).

A 162 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Von Anruffung der Heylgen, Joannis Oecolampadij, uff ettlicher Widersecher, und zûuorab Doctor Fabri, unnutz gegenwurflich tandt, Andtwort, offenlich gepredigt, an Allerheyngen Tag, Basle, Adam Petri, 1526.

VD16 O 405

Köhler, no. 240

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on December 1, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 788).

A 163 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Apologetica Ioann. Oecolampadii. De dignitate eucharistiae sermones duo. Ad Theobaldum Billicanum quinam in verbis Caenae alienum sensum inferant. Ad ecclesiastas suevos antisyngramma, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1526.

VD16 O 305

Köhler, no. 425

Oecolampadius wrote his *Antisyngramma* as a response to the *Syngramma Suevicum* (see no. A 21), in which 14 Swabian theologians rejected the teaching on the Lord's Supper by Zwingli. He sent the work to Zwingli to review it (see Z VIII, p. 434 and 436). Zwingli answered him on December 1, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 446f.) and handed it over to Froschauer for printing.

A 164 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Ad Billibaldum Pyrkaimerum de re eucharistiae responsio, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1526.

VD16 O 281

Köhler, no. 239

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli the manuscript on April 19, 1526 with the request that he corrects the text (Z VIII, p. 571). On August 11, 1526 Zwingli informed the Blarer brothers that the work, printed by Froschauer in Zürich, would be ready for the book fair in autumn (Z VIII, p. 685).

A 165 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Ein Christliche und ernstlich antwort der Prediger des Euangelij zů Basle, warumb sy die Mess einen grüwel gescholten habind. Uff erforschung und gheyß des Ersamen Radts daselbst gebenn, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1527.

VD16 C 2340

Köhler, S. * 50, no. 55

Fridolin Brunner in Glarus asked Zwingli on December 1527 to send him a copy of this book (Z IX, p. 317).

A 166 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Das erst Capitel des Propheten Jeheskiels, [Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1527].

VD16 B 3811

Köhler, no. 246

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on August 18, 1527 (Z IX, p. 189).

A 167 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Ad Bilibaldum Pykraimerum, de eucharistia, Ioannis Husschin, cui ab aequalibus a prima adolescentia Oecolampadio nomen obvenit, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1527.

VD16 O 282

Köhler, no. 243

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on March 26, 1527 (Z IX, p. 73).

A 168 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Das der Miszverstand D. Martin Luthers, uff die ewigbestendige Wort, Das ist mein Leib, nit beston mag. Die ander billiche Antwort Joannis Ecolampadij, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1527.

VD16 O 303

Köhler, no. 244

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli the first part of this title on May 22, 1527 the second part on May 31 and the end on June 15 (Z IX, p. 152, 154 and 158).

A 169 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Unterrichtung von dem Widertauff, von der Oberkeit, und von dem Eyd, auff Carlins N. Widertauffers Artickel. Antwort auff Balthasar Huebmeiers Buechlein wider der Predicanten Gespraech zů Basle, von dem Kinder Tauff, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1527.

VD16 B 7459

Köhler, no. 245

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on August 18, 1527, that the printer Cratander started with printing today. On August 31 it was still in press, and on September 4 Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy (Z IX, p. 189, 204 and 214).

A 170 Osiander, Andreas: Epistolae duae. Una Hulderichi Zuinglii ad Andream Osiandrum, qua cum eo expostulat, quod novum illud de eucharistia dogma, hactenus reiecerit, ac temere impugnarit. Altera Andreae Osiandri ad eundem Hulderichum Zuinglium ..., Nürnberg, Johann Petreius, 1527.

VD16 O 1013

Köhler, no. 251

Oecolampadius assumed in his letter to Zwingli of September 30, 1527 (Z IX, p. 228), that he knew the book (the first part was written by Zwingli).

A 171 Osiander, Andreas: Was zu Marpurk in Hessen, vom Abendtmal und anndern strittigen Artickeln, gehandelt unnd vergleicht sey worden ..., Nürnberg 1529.

Eine Ausgabe druckte Friedrich Peypus, eine andere vermutlich Johann Petreius.

Köhler, no. 219

Zwingli mentioned the title in a letter to Philipp von Hessen on November 2, 1529 (Z X, p. 331).

A 172 Ovidius Naso, Publius: Metamorphosen.

Zwingli was apparently interested in the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid. Conrad Brunner wrote to him on January 26, 1518 from Basle that he could not find the work in Basle at the moment, but that copies from the Frankfurt book fair should soon arrive. Brunner finally got an edition of the works by Ovid for Zwingli in 1518/19, which was probably printed by Aldus Manutius. Zwingli referred to the *Metamorphoses* in his commentary on Genesis (Z XIII, p. 7) and annotated a passage of the second book (2,92) at the margin of his copy of the collected works by Jerome (no. 98, vol. 6, f. 129v):³⁷ "Et patrio pater esse metu probor."

A 173 Pelargus, Ambrosius: Apologia sacrificii eucharistiae, Basle, Johannes Faber aus Emmich, 1528.

VD16 S 9288

Köhler, no. 254

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli a copy on April 1, 1528 (Z IX, p. 413).

37 Cf. Köhler (1921), p. * 30.

A 174 Pelargus, Ambrosius: Hyperaspismus sive propugnatio apologiae Ambrosii Pelargi, quo eucharistiae sacrificium ab Oecolampadiana calumnia strenue assertitur, Basle, Johannes Faber aus Emmich, 1529.

VD16 S 9293

Köhler, no. 255

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on January 11, 1529, that Christoph Froschauer would bring him a copy (Z X, p. 11).

A 175 Perottus, Nicolaus: Cornucopiae seu linguae latinae commentarii.

Köhler, no. 256

Glareanus wrote to Zwingli from Basle on October 25, 1516, that he bought a copy for him (Z VII, p. 47).

A 176 Petronius Arbiter: Satirae.

Zwingli refers to it in an annotation to the *Adagia* by Erasmus (no. 71, p. 60).

A 177 Petrus Hispanus: Summulae logicales.

Köhler, no. 152

Zwingli refers to the work in his *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden* from July 1523 (Z II, p. 154).

A 178 Pimpinella, Vincenzo: Oratio Augustae habita, Augsburg, Alexander Weissenhorn, 1530.

VD16 P 2780

Köhler, no. 262

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on August 15, 1530, that Bucer will send him a copy (Z XI, p. 58).

A 179 Pindarus: Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia. Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1526. Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia

VD16 P 2794

Köhler, no. 263

Zwingli wrote a preface to this edition.

A 180 [Pirckheimer, Willibald]: Eccius dedolatus autore Joannefrancisco Cottalembrecio poeta laureato, 1520.

Köhler, no. 264

Zwingli wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on September 8, 1521 (Z VII, p. 472), that Johannes Froben had sent him a copy.

A 181 Pirckheimer, Willibald: De convitiis Monachi illius, qui graecolatine Caecolampadiu, germanice vero Ausschin nuncupatur, ad Eleutherium suum epistola, Nürnberg, Johann Petreius, 1527.

VD16 P 2903

Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on September 4, 1527, that he wanted to answer Pirckheimer as Zwingli had suggested (Z IX, p. 214).

A 182 Platina, Bartholomaeus: Vitae pontificum.

Köhler, no. 266

Zwingli quoted this title in his *De canone missae epicheresis* from 1523 (Z II, p. 565).

A 183 Plautus, Titus Maccius: Comoediae.

Köhler, no. 268

Zwingli referred several times to Plautus, for example to the comedy *Aulularia* in an annotation to Livy (no. 124, f. c₈r), as well as in a letter to Gregor Bünzli of December 30, 1522 (Z VII, p. 650). Various allusions were made to the *Asinaria* can be found in a letter to Conrad Pellikan of January 12, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 499), to *Curculio* in his *De vera ac falsa religione commentarius* of 1525 (Z II, p. 640), to *Stichus*, *Pseudolus* and *Aulularia* in his commentary on Genesis (Z XIII, p. 8, 195 and 205).

A 184 Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Gaius: Naturae historiarum libri.

Köhler, no. 269

Zwingli confirmed the arrival of the work on July 2, 1519 (Z VII, p. 197), although he owned already one (cf. no. 154). This second edition has not been identified yet. It was procured by Conrad Brunner.³⁸

A 185 Plutarchus: De philosophorum placitis libellus, interprete Guilielmo Budeo, Strasbourg, Mathias Schürer, 1516.

VD16 P 3805

Zwingli refers to the work in an annotation to his Greek Plutarch (no. 155, p. 309).

³⁸ M. Conradi Fontani Amerbachiorum famuli et dein pedagogi aliquot puerorum hic rationarium, University Library Basle, Msc. C VI a 30, f. 30v.

A 186 Polybius: *Historiarum libri v* (greek), Hagenau 1530.

Jakob Werner wrote in 1921: "Dass er ein eifriger Leser des 1530 zum erstenmal gedruckten polybianischen Geschichtswerkes war, beweisen seine zahlreichen Nachträge zu dem 1530 in Paris erschienenen Lexikon Graecolatium; auffallenderweise zeigt das Exemplar des Polybius keine Randnotizen."³⁹ The copy of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich has no handwritten annotations by Zwingli. He refers to the fourth book of the *Historiarum libri* in his copy of Suidas (no. 178, f. ΔΔ₄r) and the *Adagia* by Erasmus (no. 71, p. 429).

Pomponius Laetus, Iulius: cf. A 72

A 187 Porphyrius: *Homericarum quaestionum liber*.

Köhler, no. 274

Zwingli referred to the work in a letter of November 6, 1526 to Berchtold Haller in Berne (Z VIII, p. 762).

A 188 Porphyrius: *Isagoge*.

Köhler, no. 275

In a letter of July 13, 1510, Glareanus in Cologne recommended Zwingli to buy the work in Basle rather than in Cologne (Z VII, p. 3).

Probus, Marcus Valerius: cf. A 72

A 189 Ptolemaeus, Claudius: *Cosmographia*.

Zwingli tried in vain to obtain an edition of the famous atlas (Z VII, p. 1). Presumably he used one of the specimens of the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, which were printed in 1486, 1508, 1513 and 1520. Zwingli referred in the beginning of his commentary to Ezekiel to a map by Ptolemy, which shows the course of the river *Chaboras*, which is mentioned in Ezek. 1,1 (Z XIV, p. 687). In the edition of the Atlas of Ptolemy, which was printed ca. 1520, very probably in Strasbourg, the river shows up on the "quarta Asiae tabula" (ZBZ, call number: IV ZZ 9; cf. ill. 16).

A 190 Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius: *Institutio oratoria*.

Köhler, no. 276

Zwingli referred to Quintilianus at minimum in two marginal notes of his edi-

39 Werner (1921).

tion of the works of Jerome (no. 98: vol. 2, f. 3v; vol. 5, f. 98r). In his commentary on Isaiah he also referred to the Roman rhetor (z XIV, p. 306 and 349).

A 191 Rhegius, Urbanus: *Opusculum de dignitate sacerdotum incomparabili, ad amplissimum antistitem D. Hugonem de Landenberg ...*, Augsburg, Johann Miller, 1519.

VD16 R 1866

Köhler, no. 281

Zwingli wrote in a letter on March 25, 1519 to Beatus Rhenanus that Rhegius sent him a copy (z VII, p. 158).

A 192 Rufinus Aquileiensis: *Expositio in symbolum apostolicum*.

Köhler, no. 283

Zwingli referred to it in his *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden*, written in 1523 (z II, p. 60).

A 193 Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius: *Annotationes in Livium*.

Zwingli referred to the work in his *Livy* (no. 124, f. c₃v). The library of the cloister in Einsiedeln possesses two different editions of the work printed in 1513 and 1516, which Zwingli could have used.⁴⁰

A 194 Sallustius Crispus, Gaius: *De coniuratione Catilinae historia. Eiusdem de bello Iugurthino ...*, Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1529.

VD16 S 1378

Köhler, no. 286

Hieronymus Guntius (1511–after 1555) from Biberach was from ca. 1526 to 1529 Zwingli's famulus. On December 8, 1529 he gave Zwingli this edition of Sallustius (z X, p. 346). He wrote that the binding was only of cheap parchment. If he wanted, Michael Schwyzer, the bookbinder of Froschauer, would bind it much better. It is possible that Zwingli combined the title together with the *Declamatio* by Porcius Latro, the *Orationes quatuor in Catilinam* by Cicero and the *Invectiva in M.T. Ciceronis* by Sallustius in one volume. Such a volume stood in the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich and is today lost (Germann, no. 432).

⁴⁰ InkEi, no. 1366 and 1368 (call numbers: Jnc 674[180] and Jnc 675[181]).

A 195 Sam, Conrad: Ain schoener vnd wolgeteütschter grüntlicher Bericht, für den gemeinen Menschen, ob der Leyb Jesu Christi, im Himel zû der gerechten Gottes zû eren, und im Gaist zû sûchen, ob auff Erden im Brot wesentlich zû verhoffen sey. etc. Gepredigt zû Ulm durch den Predicanten im Münster mit gutem Verstand, Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1526.

VD16 S 1544

Köhler, no. 287

Zwingli wrote to Sam on July 2, 1526, that the theologians in Zürich approve his treatise (Z VIII, p. 632).

A 196 Schwenckfeld, Caspar: Ein Anwysunge das die Opinion der leyplichen Gegenwertigheyt unsers Herrens Jesu Christi jm Brote oder under der Gestalt dess Brots, gericht ist. 1 Widder den Ynnhalt der gantzen Schrifft. ... 6 Widder ... den Brauch der ersten christlichen Kirchen, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1528.

VD16 S 4840

Köhler, no. 288

Oecolampadius sent the work by Schwenckfeld via Pellican to Zwingli on July 22, 1528 (Z IX, p. 505). Zwingli added a preface and Froschauer printed it.

A 197 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus: De beneficiis.

Zwingli referred to the work in an annotation to the *Psalterium quincuplex* (no. 28, cf. Z XII, p. 291) as well as in his commentary on Genesis (Z XIII, p. 243)

A 198 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus: Epistolae.

Köhler, no. 291

Zwingli referred several times to this title (Z II, p. 548; Z III, p. 27 and 863; Z XVII, p. 286).

A 199 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus: Naturales quaestiones.

Zwingli quoted this title in his commentary on Matthew (Z XVII, p. 85). It is possible that he used the edition of Seneca's works that belonged to the abbey library of the Grossmünster in Zürich, which is today lost (Germann, no. 218). Concerning Zwingli's appreciation of Seneca, cf. Z VI/3, p. 1066.

A 200 Stöffler, Johannes: Calendarium Romanum magnum, Caesaree maiestati dicatum, Oppenheim, Jakob Köbel, 1518.

VD16 S 9188

Köhler, no. 294

Zwingli wrote to Conrad Brunner in Basle on July 2, 1519, that he received the *Calendarium* (Z VII, p. 197; cf. *ibid.*, p. 173).

A 201 **Strauss, Jakob:** Hauptstuck unnd Artickel christlicher Leer wider den unchristlichen Wuecher darumb etlich Pfaffen zû Eysnach so gar unruewig und bemueet seind, 1523.

Köhler, no. 296

Zwingli received this title probably from Capito, who asked him for a statement on December 31, 1525 (Z VIII, p. 283). Zwingli mentioned the book in his *Anwurt Huldrychen Zwinglins über doctor Strussen buechlin, wider inn geschriben, das nachtmal Christi betreffende* from 1527 (Z V, p. 466).

A 202 **Strub, Arbogast:** Arbogasti Strub Glaronesii orationes duae, quas dum in humanis fuit habuit: deinde non nulla mortuo ab doctis viris eulogia, epitaphi-
aque pie posita. Carmen item de morte per Ioach. Vadianum, Wien, Hieronymus Vietor und Johann Singriener d. Ä., 1511.

VD16 ZV 14766

Köhler, no. 301

Vadian gave Zwingli a copy on April 9, 1511 (Z VII, p. 5).

A 203 **Tacitus, Cornelius:** De moribus et populis Germaniae libellus, Basle, Froben, 1519.

VD16 T 30

Köhler, no. 306

On page 34f. there is a letter of dedication from Froben to Zwingli (Z VII, p. 177f.). Froben wrote that he had dedicated this work to Zwingli because he knew that he likes this kind of literature. Froben mentioned in this context two further Swiss scholars who had done much for the progress of the Classical Studies, namely Henricus Glareanus and Joachim Vadian.

A 204 **Terentius Afer, Publius:** Comoediae.

Zwingli quoted the comedy *Eunuchus* written by Terentius in his commentary on Genesis (Z XIII, p. 241) and the comedy *Andria* in his commentary on Matthew (Z XVII, p. 286).

A 205 **Tertullianus, Quintus Septimus:** Opera.

Köhler, no. 308

Glareanus wrote to Zwingli on October 19, 1516, that he bought for him for one guilder an edition of Tertullinaus, which was bound together with an edition

of Lactantius (z VII, p. 42; cf. *ibid.*, p. 47). Zwingli quoted Tertullianus quite often in his works (for example in: z VI/3, p. 265). He also referred to him in a handwritten annotation to *De verbis coenae dominicae* by Billicanus (no. 33, f. B₃v).

A 206 Theocritus: Opera.

Myconius wrote in his biography on Zwingli, that he read Theocritus.⁴¹

A 207 Theophylactus de Achrida: In quatuor evangelia enarrationes, denuo recognitae. Ioanne Oecolampadio interprete. Basle, Andreas Cratander, 1525.

VD16 B 4601

Köhler, no. 313

Zwingli referred to this title in his *De vera ac falsa religione commentarius* from 1525 (z III, p. 860 f.).

A 208 Thomas von Aquin

Zwingli quoted Thomas Aquinas for example in his treatise *Ad Matthaëum Alberum de coena Domini epistola* from 1524 (z III, p. 349) or in *De providentia Dei* (z VI/3, p. 156).

A 209 Thucydides

Myconius wrote in his biography on Zwingli, that he read the Greek historian.⁴²

A 210 Varro, Marcus Terentius: De lingua latina.

Köhler, no. 320

Zwingli referred to it in his *Commentarius de vera ac falsa religione* from 1525 (z III, p. 758).

A 211 Zürich (Council): Inhalt etlicher Hendlen wie die an inen selbs zum Teyl mit der Warheit vergangen und zum Teyl erdacht sind, die ein Burgermeister, Radt und der gross Radt der Statt Zürich jre Eydgrossen und Zuogewandten in einer Gmein, als uff die sölich Hendel dienend, berichtend und sich gegen jnen entschuldigend und verantwortend, Zürich, Hager, 1525.

VD16 Z 596

Köhler, no. 169

⁴¹ Myconius (1979), p. 50.

⁴² Myconius (1979), p. 50.

Zwingli wrote to Vadian on January 19, 1525 (Z VIII, S. 294), that he did not have a single copy of this imprint, but that Vadian would receive a copy from his brother-in-law Conrad Grebel or from a friend.

3.2 *Manuscripts*

A 212 [*Anonymus*]: De suffraganeorum imposturis, 1526.

Köhler, no. 411

Oecolampadius asked Zwingli on October 19, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 753), whether this work, whose author he did not want to name, could be printed in Zürich, since it could not appear in Basle because of censorship. On October 30, Oecolampadius asked for the return of the manuscript if the work could not be published in Zürich (Z VIII, p. 756). The work never appeared.

A 213 [*Anonymus*]: Positiones scholasticae.

Köhler, no. 432

Johannes Sapidus, head of the newly founded school in the Predigerkloster of Strasbourg, sent Zwingli possibly in early August 1528 scholastic theses (Z IX, p. 522).

A 214 [*Anonymus*]: Di Carolo Cesare, imperatore augusto, la ammiranda et triumphal intrata in Bologna. Le cerimonie pontificali et imperiali, il catalo go delli Grandi de Spagna et daltri principi, et le cinque imprese di Cesare pertinenti alla salute, del mondo, secondo li avisi mandati de Corte al, reverendissimo et illustrissimo Cardinal de Monte, Vescovo Portuense et legato de Roma ..., [Rom, Francesco Minizio Calvo, 1529].

EDIT 16 CNCE 17014

Peter Tschudi made a copy of a report on the solemn entry of Emperor Charles V in Bologna for Zwingli and sent it to him on December 27, 1529 (Z X, p. 373). Presumably it was a handwritten copy of this imprint, published by Francesco Minizio Calvo in Rome.⁴³ According to a letter from Johannes Froben to Martin Luther of February 14, 1519 Calvo inclined to Protestantism.⁴⁴

A 215 [*Augsburger Reichstag*]: Conflictatio de fide, 1530.

Köhler, no. 412

Peter Tschudi from Chur sent this confidential document on the negotiations of the Reichstag in Augsburg to Zwingli on December 15, 1530 (Z XI, p. 279).

43 Barberi (1952), pp. 57–98, especially p. 90.

44 WA Briefwechsel, vol. 1, p. 332.

A 216 Aurelius: [On anabaptism].

Köhler, no. 413

The name Aurelius is possibly the latinized form of (Niklaus) Guldi of St. Gallen, who was a former Baptist and author of a book. In a letter to Vadian of September 10, 1530 he agreed to send the manuscript to Zwingli. Zwingli wrote to Vadian on September 22, that Chorherr Heinrich Utinger was reading the text at the moment (Z XI, p. 146).

A 217 Bartolini, Riccardo: Oratio ad Imp. Caes. Maximilianum Aug. ac potentis. Germaniarum Principes, de expeditione contra Turcas suscipienda, Augsburg, Sigmund Grimm und Marx Wirsung, 1518.

VD16 B 570

Cf. Köhler, no. 427

Zwingli received a copy of the manuscript in March 1519 (Z VII, p. 144, 146 and 149).

A 218 Berne [Council]: Pensionen-Ordnung, 1528.

Köhler, no. 416

Berchtold Haller sent Zwingli an copy of this mandate on June 10, 1531, which never was printed (Z XI, p. 480).

A 219 Berne [Council]: Ordnung unnd satzung desz Eebruchs und Hury ze Bernen: Auch form und gestalt der Eelüten ynfürung desz Touffs unnd Herren Nachtmal wie es ze Bernen gebrucht wirdt, [Berne 1529?].

Köhler, no. 415

Berchtold Haller wrote to Zwingli on October 24, 1530, that he has copied the document and sent it to Enoch Metzger in Zürich (Z XI, p. 204).

A 220 Bucer, Martin: [Bekenntnis über das Abendmahl].

Köhler, no. 417

This essay by Bucer had the form of a letter to Duke Ernst von Lüneburg, which Bucer sent to Oecolampadius and Zwingli in mid-November 1530 (Z XI, pp. 236–247). It was never printed.⁴⁵

A 221 Eck, Johannes: Epistola Ioh. Eccii sedis papistice nuncii, ut ipse scribit, inviti descripta ab ipsius autographo, que docebit quã uera sit Epistola quã e

45 The work is published in: Bucer (2004), pp. 131–145.

Lipsia Wittembergam scripsit, qua se inuitū ait suscepisse munus legationis aduersus Lutherū, [Wittenberg, Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, 1520].

VD16 E 365

Köhler, no. 418

Zwingli informed Oswald Myconius in Lucerne on July 6, 1520, that he had a copy of this letter from Eck of May 3, 1520, which reported the first steps in the matter of the papal bull against Luther (Z VII, p. 330). Luther published the text with critical remarks.

A 222 Fabri, Johann: Ein sandtbrieue Doctor Johaⁿ Fabri an Vlrich Zwinglin maister zū Zürich von wegen der künfftigen disputation, So durch gemeyn aydtgnossen, der zwoelff ort auff den sechtzehenden tag May nechst künfftigen Badē im Ergoew fürgenommen vnnd außgeschriben ist, [Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart d. Ä., 1526].

VD16 F 227

Köhler, no. 420

Oecolampadius let the printed text copy for Zwingli in a hurry and sent it to him on April 24, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 576; cf. Z V, p. 35).

A 223 Glareanus, Henricus Loriti: Divorum Felicis, Regulae et Exuperantii Agon, 1519.

Köhler, no. 421

Glareanus wrote in Paris a critical version of the legend of the Zürich saints Felix, Regula and Exuperantius. He announced the manuscript in a letter of May 15, 1519 (Z VII, p. 169). In the letter of dedication to the manuscript he wrote that he dedicates the work to the Probst Felix Frei, the Hohe Schule in Zürich and Huldrych Zwingli. The manuscript is lost but was still present in the 17th century and was finally published by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667).⁴⁶

A 224 Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (Bischof von Konstanz): Ernstliche ermanung des Fridens vnd Christenlicher einigkeit des durchlüchtigen Fürsten vnnd genaedigen herren Hugonis vō Landenberg Bischoff tzū Constantz mitt Schoener vßlegung vnnd erkläerung ... nüwlich vßgangen. (Summarium der schoedlichen toedtlischen gyfften, so in disem Mandat vergriffen ...) [von Sebastian Meyer], Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart d. Ä., 1523.

VD16 K 2019

⁴⁶ Hottinger (1666), pp. 1061–1077.

Köhler, no. 423

The former Franciscan Sebastian Meyer (circa 1467–1545) was one of the early reformers in Berne and published the *Ernstliche ermanung des Fridens* by the Bishop of Constance with critical glosses and an appendix (*Summarium*). On November 11, 1522 he sent Zwingli the manuscript for a review (Z VII, p. 612 f.).

A 225 [Hutten, Ulrich von⁴⁷]: Exhortatio viri cuiusdam doctissimi ad Principes, ne in Decimae praestationem consentiant, in: Orationes duae, Altera habita a Legatis summi Pontificis coram Imperatore Maximiliano, pro colligendis Decimis, in expeditionem in Turcas. Altera viri cuiusdam doctissimi, ne Principes in Decimae praestationem consentiant, Utopia 1519 [= Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer, 1519], f. [4v–7v].

VD16 K 309

Köhler, no. 427

Michael Sander gave Zwingli a copy of the text in March 1519 (Z VII, p. 144 and 146).

A 226 Luther, Martin: Allenn lieben Christen zû Reütlingen meinen lieben Hern, Freüندن, Brüedern in Christo, Wittenberg, Matthias Hoffischer, 1526.

VD16 L 3733

Köhler, no. 211

Oecolampadius copied the text partly and sent it to Zwingli on July 12, 1526 (Z VIII, p. 659).

A 227 Myconius, Oswald: Philirenus.

Köhler, no. 424

The pacifist dialogue *Philirenus* (*Friend of Peace*), written by Myconius, circulated in the scholarly circles of Basle and Zürich in 1519/20 and, according to a letter from Zwingli to Myconius of November 30, 1519 was also read by Zwingli (Z VII, p. 232 f.). Unfortunately, no handwritten copy is known.

A 228 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Über D. Martin Luters Buch Bekentnuß genant zwo Antwurten Joannis Eccolampadij und Huldrychen Zuinglis, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1528.

VD16 O 404

Köhler, no. 247

47 Ein ungenannter Zeitgenosse Zwinglis war der Ansicht, dass der Text von Hutten stammt. Vgl. Z VII, p. 147.

On July 9, 1528 Oecolampadius's amanuensis Conrad [Hubert] brought the manuscript to Zwingli, who should correct it. Zwingli was also supposed to monitor the printing by Froschauer (Z IX, p. 496).

A 229 Oecolampadius, Johannes: Oratio habita vernaculo sermone coram senatu Basiliensi, anno 1530, de reducenda excommunicatione apostolica, 1530. Köhler, no. 426

Oecolampadius sent Zwingli on September 17, 1530 the manuscript of this speech (Z XI, p. 130), which he held in front of the Council of Basle and which was published in 1536.⁴⁸

A 230 [Sattler, Michael]: Brüderliche vereynigung etzlicher kinder gottes ..., 1527.

Oecolampadius and Haller sent Zwingli handwritten copies (Z VI/1, p. 6 and Z VIII, p. 104). Later he received further copies.⁴⁹

Cf. Köhler, no. 434

A 231 Seger, Martin: [Die göttliche Mühle] Dyss Hand zwen schwytzer Puren gmacht. Fürwar sy Hand es wol betracht, Zürich, Christoph Froschauer d. Ä., 1521.

VD16 S 5311

Köhler, no. 429

Martin Seger from Maienfeld sent a draft to Zwingli, which he and the bell-founder Johannes Füssli brought into this form. The impressive title woodcut with Erasmus of Rotterdam in the foreground also goes back to Zwingli and Füssli, as Zwingli wrote to Myconius on May 25, 1521 (Z VII, p. 457 f.).⁵⁰

A 232 Seger, Martin: Der Stumme.

Köhler, no. 430

Johann Jakob Russinger, abbot of Pfäfers and convert to the Reformation, sent the manuscript by Seger to Zwingli for a review on October 28, 1522 (Z VII, p. 604 f.). It was never published.

48 DD. Ioannis Oecolampadii et Huldrichi Zwinglii epistolarum libri quatuor ..., Basle: Thomas Platter and Balthasar Lasius, 1536, f. 42r–46r.

49 Z VI, p. 107 and 122.

50 Vgl. Farner (1954), vol. 3, p. 218f.

A 233 Seger, Martin: Narrenbüchli

Martin Seger sent the manuscript to Zwingli on March 17, 1528 for review (z IX, p. 393). It was never published.

A 234 [Swiss Confederation]: Artikel des ersten Kappeler Landfriedens.⁵¹

Köhler, p. * 51, no. 65

Zwingli sent a copy to Conrad Sam in Ulm on June 29, 1529 (z X, p. 181).

A 235 Vadianus, Joachim: Farrago centum plus minus axiomatum, in quibus summam, quod ad Christianum poenitentiam, contritionem, confessionem, absolutionem et satisfactionem attinet, comprehenditur, authoribus Georgio Vadiano, Dominico Zilio, Ioachimo Vadiano, triumviris auscultandarum concionum apud St. Gall[um] ..., 1525.

Köhler, Nr. 433

Zwingli sent the manuscript back to Vadian on March 31, 1525 (z VIII, p. 313). It belongs today to the holdings of the Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana in St. Gall (call number: VadSlg Ms 65, f. 1r–8r).

A 236 Ziegler, Jakob: Anni auriferi 1525 Romae per Clementem VII papam celebrati impostura.

Köhler, no. 435

Zwingli's relative, Huldreich Kramer from Rüti, sent him the work of the former Catholic theologian Ziegler on September 13, 1525, with a request to print it (z VIII, p. 358) which never happened. The manuscript is kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (call number: Clm 27230).

A 237 Ziegler, Jakob: Vita Clementis septimi Papae (Ausschnitt).

Köhler, no. 436

Bucer wrote to Zwingli (z XI, p. 304) on January 14, 1531, that Ziegler's adoptive brother, Martin Richter, would hand over a manuscript by Ziegler which the latter wrote two years earlier. It was a part of the *Vita Clementis* which is directed against the League of Cognac. The fragment obtained by Zwingli is not preserved, however the whole *Vita Clementis* is stored together with other writings by Ziegler in Cod. 827 of the University Library Erlangen. The whole codex was written bei Martin Richter.⁵²

⁵¹ The contract of the peace is edited in: Johannes Strickler: Die Eidgenössischen Abschiede aus dem Zeitraume von 1529 bis 1532, Der amtlichen Abschiedssammlung Bd. 4, Abtheilung 1b, Zürich 1876, S. 281–286.

⁵² z XI, p. 304 f., Anm. 20–25; Schottenloher (1910), p. 390 f.

A 238 Ziegler, Jakob: *Infirmetas rei christianae*.

Köhler, no. 437

Bucer wrote to Zwingli (Z XI, p. 304) on January 14, 1531, that Ziegler had written a work entitled *Infirmetas Germaniae*, meaning the work mentioned here. Bucer sent him a picture which preceded the manuscript, as well as an excerpt from the work. Both are lost. The treatise of Ziegler is preserved in a copy by his adoptive brother Martin Richter in the Cod. 827 (f. 118r–203r) of the University Library Erlangen, which also contains the mentioned figure.⁵³

A 239 Ziegler, Jakob: *Commentarius in secundum Plinii*.

Köhler, no. 438

Bucer sent Zwingli the manuscript of the work on January 14, 1531 (Z XI, p. 305), stating that he had tried in vain to have it printed. Ziegler's commentary on Pliny appeared finally in August 1531 in Basle: *Iacobi Ziegleri, Landavi, Bavari, In C. Plinii de naturali historia librum secundum commentarius ...*, Basle, Heinrich Petri, 1531 (VD16 P 3535).

A 240 Zwingli, Huldrych: *Loci communes*.

Köhler, no. 422

Bullinger testifies that in 1524 he saw a large book in Zwingli's house, in which the Reformer registered statements by the Church Fathers according to different topics. Bullinger had a similar collection of *loci communes* or *loci theologici* (ZBZ, Ms Car I 152 and 153).⁵⁴

53 Z XI, S. 304f., Anm. 20–25; Schottenloher (1910), p. 390f.; Zwa 3/15 (1920), illustration before p. 477. In his commentary to this illustration (*ibid.*, pp. 500–503), Walther Köhler seems to confuse the manuscripts from the BSB München (Cm 27230) and the UB Erlangen (Cod. 827).

54 Cf. Leu and Weidmann (2004), p. 31f.; Leu (2007b), p. 331.

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